

THE
WORKS
OF
Dr. Jonathan Swift,
Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin,
VOLUME XIII.



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THE FIVE LAST VOLUMES

OF THE

WORKS of DR. SWIFT:

BEING

VOL. XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII.

WITH

An INDEX to the whole SEVENTEEN.

C O N T E N T S

O F

V O L U M E XIII.

<i>ADVERTISEMENT of the Editor</i>	Page 1
<i>A Sermon on False Witness</i>	3
<i>— on the Poor Man's Contentment</i>	18
<i>— on the Causes of the wretched Condition of Ireland</i>	32
<i>— on Sleeping in Church</i>	49
<i>Remarks upon a Book, intituled, The Rights of the Christian Church</i>	62
<i>The Craftsman of December 12, 1730</i>	128
<i>Answer to the Craftsman</i>	146
<i>Memoirs of Capt. John Creighton</i>	161
<i>Hints towards an Essay on Conversation</i>	251
<i>A short Character of Thomas Earl of Wharton</i>	264

VOL. XIII.

A 2

A SER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE pleasure Dean *Swift's* Works have already afforded will be a sufficient apology for communicating to the Reader, though somewhat out of season, these Additional Volumes; who will be less displeased, that they have been so long suppressed, than thankful that they are now at last published. We have no occasion to apologize for the Pieces themselves; for as they have all the internal marks of genuineness, so, by their further opening the author's private correspondence, they display the goodness of his heart, no less than the never-ceasing sallies of his wit. His answer to *The Rights of the Christian church* is a remarkable instance of both; which, though unfinished, and but the slight prolusions of his strength, shew how sincere, how able a champion he was of religion and the church.

VOL. XIII.

B

So

2 ADVERTISEMENT.

So soon as these were printed in *Dublin*, in a new edition of the Dean's works, it was a justice due to them to select them thence, to complete the *London* edition. Like the author, though they owe their birth to *Ireland*, they will feel their maturity in *England*; and each nation will contend which shall receive them with greater ardour.

We have added, in the last Volume, an Index to ALL the WORKS; wherein we have ranged the *bons mots* scattered throughout them under the article SWIFTIANA, by which their brightness is collected, as it were, into a *focus*, and they are placed in such open day, that they are secured, for the future, from the petty larceny of meaner wits.

A SER-

A
S E R M O N
O N
F A L S E W I T N E S S.

EXODUS xx. 16.

*Thou shalt not bear false Witness against thy
Neighbour.*

IN those great changes that are made in a country, by the prevailing of one party over another, it is very convenient that the prince, and those who are in authority under him, should use all just and proper methods for preventing any mischief to the public from seditious men. And Governors do well, when they encourage any good subject to discover (as his duty obligeth him) whatever plots or conspiracies may be any way dangerous to the state: Neither are they to be blamed, even when they receive informations from bad men, in order to find out the truth, when it concerns the public welfare. Every one indeed is naturally inclined to have an ill opinion of an informer; although it is not impossible, but an honest man may be called by that name. For whoever knoweth any thing, the telling of which

ON FALSE WITNESS.

⁴ would prevent some great evil to his prince, his country, or his neighbour, is bound in conscience to reveal it. But the mischief is, that when parties are violently enflamed, which seemeth unfortunately to be our case at present, there is never wanting a sett of evil instruments, who, either out of mad zeal, private hatred, or filthy lucre, are always ready to offer their service to the prevailing side, and become accusers of their brethren without any regard to truth or charity. Holy David numbers this among the chief of his sufferings; *False Witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breath out Cruelty* [a]. Our Saviour and his apostles did likewise undergo the same distress, as we read both in the Gospels and the Acts.

Now because the sin of false witnessing is so horrible and dangerous in itself, and so odious to God and man: And because the bitterness of too many among us is risen to such a height, that it is not easy to know where it will stop, or how far some weak and wicked minds may be carried by a mistaken zeal, a malicious temper, or hope of reward, to break this great commandment delivered in the text: Therefore, in order to prevent this evil, and the consequences of it, at least among you who are my hearers, I shall,

- I. FIRST, Shew you several ways by which a man may be called a false witness against his neighbour.

[a] Psal. xxvii. 12.

II. SECOND-

ON FALSE WITNESS. 5

II. SECONDLY, I shall give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

III. AND lastly, I shall conclude with shewing you very briefly, how far it is your duty, as good subjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witness, when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

I. As to the first, there are several ways by which a man may be justly called a false witness against his neighbour.

First, According to the direct meaning of the word, when a man accuseth his neighbour without the least ground of truth. So we read, *that Jezabel hired two sons of Belial to accuse Naboth for blaspheming God and the King, for which, although he was entirely innocent, he was stoned to death [b].* And in our age it is not easy to tell how many men have lost their lives, been ruined in their fortunes, and put to ignominious punishment by the downright perjury of false witnesses: the law itself in such cases being not able to protect the innocent! But this is so horrible a crime, that it doth not need to be aggravated by words.

A second way by which a man becometh a false witness is, when he mixeth falsehood and truth together, or concealeth some cir-

[b] 1 Kings xxi. 13.

6 ON FALSE WITNESS.

cumstances, which, if they were told, would destroy the falsehoods he uttereth. So the two false witnesses who accused our Saviour before the chief Priests, by a very little perverting his words, would have made him guilty of a capital crime; for so it was among the Jews to prophesy any evil against the temple. *This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days [c];* whereas the words, as our Saviour spoke them, were to another end, and differently expressed: For when the Jews asked him to shew them a sign, he said; *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.* In such cases as those, an innocent man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, since he neither can deny his words, nor perhaps readily strip them from the malicious additions of a false witness.

Thirdly, A man is a false witness, when, in accusing his neighbour, he endeavoureth to aggravate by his gestures, and tone of his voice, or when he chargeth a man with words which were only repeated or quoted from somebody else. As if any one should tell me that he heard another speak certain dangerous and seditious speeches, and I should immediately accuse him for speaking them himself; and so drop the only circumstance that made him innocent. This was the case of St. Stephen. The false witnesses said, *This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous*

[c] Mat. xxvi. 6.

words

ON FALSE WITNESS. 7

words against this holy place and the law [d]. Whereas St. Stephen said no such words; but only repeated some prophecies of *Jeremiah* or *Malachi*, which threatened *Jerusalem* with destruction if it did not repent: However, by the fury of the people, this innocent holy person was stoned to death for words he never spoke.

Fourthly, The blackest kind of false witnessess are those who do the office of the Devil, by tempting their brethren in order to betray them. I cannot call to mind any instances of this kind mentioned in holy scripture. But I am afraid, this vile practice hath been too much followed in the world. When a man's temper hath been so soured by misfortunes and hard usage, that perhaps he hath reason enough to complain; then one of these seducers, under the pretence of friendship, will seem to lament his case, urge the hardships he hath suffered, and endeavour to raise his passions until he hath said something that a malicious informer can pervert or aggravate against him in a court of justice.

Fifthly, Whoever beareth witness against his neighbour, out of a principle of malice and revenge, from any old grudge, or hatred to his person; such a man is a false witness in the sight of God, although what he says be true; because the motive or cause is evil, not to serve his prince or country, but to gratify his own resentments. And therefore,

[d] Acts vi. 13.

B 4

although

8 ON FALSE WITNESS.

although a man thus accused may be very justly punished by the law, yet this doth by no means acquit the accuser, who, instead of regarding the public service, intended only to glut his private rage and spite.

Sixthly, I number among false witnesses all those who make a trade of being informers in hope of favour and reward; and to this end employ their time, either by listening in public places, to catch up an accidental word; or in corrupting men's servants to discover any unwary expression of their master; or thrusting themselves into company, and then using the most indecent scurrilous language; fastening a thousand falsehoods and scandal upon a whole party, on purpose to provoke such an answer as they may turn to an accusation. And truly this ungodly race is said to be grown so numerous, that men of different parties can hardly converse together with any security. Even the pulpit hath not been free from the misrepresentation of these informers; of whom the clergy have not wanted occasions to complain with holy *David*: *They daily mistake my words, all they imagine is to do me evil.* Nor is it any wonder at all, that this trade of informing should be now in a flourishing condition, since our case is manifestly thus; we are divided into two parties, with very little charity or temper towards each other: The prevailing side may talk of past things as they please, with security; and generally do it in the most provoking words they can invent;
while

ON FALSE WITNESS. 9

while those who are down are sometimes tempted to speak in favour of a lost cause, and therefore, without great caution, must needs be often caught tripping, and thereby furnish plenty of materials for witnesses and informers.

Lastly, Those may well be reckoned among false witnesses against their neighbour, who bring them into trouble and punishment by such accusations as are of no consequence at all to the public, nor can be of any other use but to create vexation. Such witnesses are those, who cannot hear an idle intemperate expression, but they must immediately run to the magistrate to inform; or perhaps wrangling in their cups over night, when they were not able to speak or apprehend three words of common sense, will pretend to remember every thing in the morning, and think themselves very properly qualified to be accusers of their brethren. God be thanked, the throne of our [e] king is too firmly settled to be shaken by the folly and rashness of every sottish companion. And I do not in the least doubt, that when those in power begin to observe the falsehood, the prevarication, the aggravating manner, the treachery and seducing, the malice and revenge, the love of lucre; and lastly, the trifling accusations in too many wicked people, they will be as ready to discourage every sort of those whom I have numbered among

[e] GEORGE I.

B 5

false

10 ON FALSE WITNESS.

false witnesses, as they will be to countenance honest men, who, out of a true zeal to their prince and country, do, in the innocence of their hearts, freely discover whatever they may apprehend to be dangerous to either. A good christian will think it sufficient to reprove his brother for a rash unguarded word, where there is neither danger nor evil example to be apprehended; or, if he will not amend by reproof, avoid his conversation.

II. And thus much may serve to shew the several ways whereby a man may be said to be a false witness against his neighbour. I might have added one kind more, and it is of those who inform against their neighbour out of fear of punishment to themselves, which, although it be more excusable, and hath less of malice than any of the rest, cannot however be justified. I go on therefore upon the second head, to give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

It is readily agreed, that innocence is the best protection in the world; yet that it is not always sufficient without some degree of prudence, our Saviour himself intimateth to us, by instructing his disciples *to be wise as serpents, as well as innocent as doves*. But, if ever innocence be too weak a defence, it is chiefly so in jealous and suspicious times, when factions are arrived to an high pitch of animosity, and the minds of men, instead of
being

ON FALSE WITNESS. 11

being warmed by a true zeal for religion, are inflamed only by party fury. Neither is virtue itself a sufficient security in such times, because it is not allowed to be virtue, otherwise than as it hath a mixture of party.

However, although virtue and innocence are no infallible defence against perjury, malice, and subornation, yet they are great supports for enabling us to bear those evils with temper and resignation; and it is an unspeakable comfort to a good man under the malignity of evil mercenary tongues, that a few years will carry his appeal to an higher tribunal, where false witnesses, instead of daring to bring accusations before an all-seeing judge, will call for mountains to cover them. As for earthly judges, they seldom have it in their power; and, God knows, whether they have it in their will, to mingle mercy with justice; they are so far from knowing the hearts of the accuser or the accused, that they cannot know their own; and their understanding is frequently biased, although their intentions be just. They are often prejudiced to causes, parties, and persons, through the infirmity of human nature, without being sensible themselves that they are so: And therefore, although God may pardon their errors here, he certainly will not ratify their sentences hereafter.

However, since as we have before observed, our Saviour prescribeth to us to be not only harmless as doves, but wise as ser-

12 ON FALSE WITNESS.

pents; give me leave to prescribe to you some rules, which the most ignorant person may follow for the conduct of his life with safety in perilous times against false accusers.

1st, Let me advise you to have nothing at all to do with that which is commonly called politics, or the government of the world; in the nature of which it is certain you are utterly ignorant, and when your opinion is wrong, although it proceeds from ignorance, it shall be an accusation against you. Besides, opinions in government are right or wrong just according to the humour and disposition of the times; and, unless you have judgment to distinguish, you may be punished at one time for what you would be rewarded in another.

2dly, Be ready at all times in your words and actions to shew your loyalty to the king that reigns over you. This is the plain manifest doctrine of holy scripture. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, &c. [f].* And another apostle telleth us, *The powers that be are ordained of God.* Kings are the ordinances of man by the permission of God, and they are ordained of God by his instrument man. The powers that be, the present powers, which are ordained by God, and yet in some sense are the ordinances of man, are what you must obey,

[f] 1 Pet. ii. 13.

without

ON FALSE WITNESS. 13

without presuming to examine into rights and titles; neither can it be reasonably expected, that the powers in being, or in possession, should suffer their title to be publicly disputed by subjects without severe punishment. And to say the truth, there is no duty in religion more easy to the generality of mankind, than obedience to government: I say, to the generality of mankind; because while their law, and property, and religion are preserved, it is of no great consequence to them by whom they are governed, and therefore they are under no temptations to desire a change.

3dly, In order to prevent any danger from the malice of false witnesses, be sure to avoid intemperance. If it be often so hard for men to govern their tongues when they are in their right senses, how can they hope to do it when they are heated with drink? In those cases most men regard not what they say, and too many not what they swear; neither will a man's memory disordered with drunkenness serve to defend himself, or satisfy him whether he were guilty or no.

4thly, Avoid, as much as possible, the conversation of those people, who are given to talk of public persons and affairs, especially of those whose opinions in such matters are different from yours. I never once knew any disputes of this kind managed with tolerable temper; but on both sides they only agree as much as possible to provoke the

14. ON FALSE WITNESS.

the passions of each other, indeed with this disadvantage, that he who argueth on the side of power may speak securely the utmost his malice can invent; while the other lieth every moment at the mercy of an informer; and the law in these cases will give no allowance at all for passion, inadvertency, or the highest provocation.

I come now in the last place to shew you how far it is your duty as good subjects and good neighbours to bear faithful witness, when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

In what I have hitherto said, you easily find, that I do not talk of bearing witness in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thousand accounts in relation to property and other matters, and wherein there are many scandalous corruptions, almost peculiar to this country, which would require to be handled by themselves. But I have confined my discourse only to that branch of bearing false witness, whereby the public is injured in the safety or honour of the prince, or those in authority under him.

In order therefore to be a faithful witness, it is first necessary that a man doth not undertake it from the least prospect of any private advantage to himself. The smallest mixture of that leaven will sour the whole lump. Interest will infallibly bias his judgment, although he be ever so firmly resolved to say nothing but truth. He cannot serve
God

ON FALSE WITNESS. 15

God and mammon; but as interest is his chief end, he will use the most effectual means to advance it. He will aggravate circumstances to make his testimony valuable; he will be sorry if the person he accuseth should be able to clear himself; in short, he is labouring a point which he thinks necessary to his own good; and it would be a disappointment to him, that his neighbour should prove innocent.

5thly, Every good subject is obliged to bear witness against his neighbour, for any action or words, the telling of which would be of advantage to the public, and the concealment dangerous, or of ill example. Of this nature are all the plots and conspiracies against the peace of a nation, all disgraceful words against a prince, such as clearly discover a disloyal and rebellious heart: But where our prince and country can possibly receive no damage or disgrace; where no scandal or ill example is given; and our neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a rash or indiscreet word, which in strictness of law might bring him under trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing; there we are obliged, we ought, to proceed no further than warning and reproof.

In describing to you the several kinds of false witnesses, I have made it less necessary to dwell much longer upon this head; because a faithful witness like every thing else is known by his contrary: Therefore it would be only repetition of what I have already ready

16 ON FALSE WITNESS.

ready said to tell you, that the strictest truth is required in a witness; that he should be wholly free from the malice against the person he accuses; that he should not aggravate the smallest circumstance against the criminal, nor conceal the smallest in his favour; and to crown all, though I have hinted it before, that the only cause or motive of his undertaking an office, so subject to censure, and so difficult to perform, should be the safety and service of his prince and country.

Under these conditions and limitations (but not otherwise) there is no manner of doubt, but a good man may lawfully and justly become a witness in behalf of the public, and may perform that office (in its own nature not very desirable) with honour and integrity. For the command in the text is positive as well as negative; that is to say, as we are directed not to bear false witness against our neighbour, so we are to bear true. Next to the word of God, and the advice of teachers, every man's conscience strictly examined will be his best director in this weighty point; and to that I shall leave him.

It might perhaps be thought proper to have added something by way of advice to those who are unhappily engaged in this abominable trade and sin of bearing false witness; but I am far from believing or supposing any of that destructive tribe are now my hearers. I look upon them as a sort of people that seldom frequent these holy places, where they can hardly pick up any materials to serve their
turn,

ON FALSE WITNESS. 17

turn, unless they think it worth their while to misrepresent or pervert the words of the preacher: And whoever is that way disposed, I doubt, cannot be in a very good condition to edify and reform himself by what he heareth. God in his mercy preserve us from all the guilt of this grievous sin forbidden in my text, and from the snares of those who are guilty of it.

I shall conclude with one or two precepts given by *Moses* from God to the children of *Israel*, in the xxiii of *Exod.* 1, 2.

Thou shalt not raise a false report: Put not thine hand with the wicked, to be an unrighteous witness.

Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many, to wrest judgment.

Now to God the Father, &c.

A
S E R M O N
O N T H E
Poor Man's Contentment.

PHILIP. Chap. iv. Part of the 11th Verse.

*I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, there-
with to be content.*

TH E holy scripture is full of expressions to set forth the miserable condition of man during the whole progress of his life; his weakness, pride, and vanity, his unmeasurable desires, and perpetual disappointments, the prevalency of his passions, and the corruptions of his reason, his deluding hopes, and his real, as well as imaginary fears; his natural and artificial wants; his cares and anxieties; the diseases of his body, and the diseases of his mind; the shortness of his life; his dread of a future state, with his carelessness to prepare for it: And the wise men of all ages have made the same reflexions.

But all these are general calamities, from which none are excepted; and, being without remedy, it is vain to bewail them. The great question, long debated in the world, is,
whether

whether the rich or the poor are the least miserable of the two? It is certain, that no rich man ever desired to be poor, and that most, if not all, poor men desire to be rich; from whence it may be argued, that, in all appearance, the advantage lieth on the side of wealth, because both parties agree in preferring it before poverty. But this reasoning will be found to be false: For, I lay it down as a certain truth, that God Almighty hath placed all men upon an equal foot, with respect to their happiness in this world, and the capacity of attaining their salvation in the next; or, at least, if there be any difference. it is not to the advantage of the rich and the mighty. Now, since a great part of those, who usually make up our congregations, are not of considerable station, and many among them of the lower sort; and since the meaner people are generally, and justly, charged with the sin of repining and murmuring at their own condition, to which, however, their betters are sufficiently subject (although, perhaps, for shame, not always so loud in their complaints), I thought it might be useful to reason upon this point in as plain a manner as I can. I shall therefore shew, first, that the poor enjoy many temporal blessings, which are not common to the rich and the great: And, likewise, that the rich and the great are subject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

But here I would not be misunderstood; perhaps, there is not a word more abused than
that

that of the poor, or wherein the world is more generally mistaken. Among the number of those who beg in our streets, or are half starved at home, or languish in prison for debt, there is hardly one in a hundred who doth not owe his misfortunes to his own laziness or drunkenness, or worse vices.

To these he owes those very diseases which often disable him from getting his bread. Such wretches are deservedly unhappy; they can only blame themselves; and when we are commanded to have pity on the poor, these are not understood to be of the number.

It is true, indeed, that sometimes honest, endeavouring men are reduced to extreme want, even to the begging of alms, by losses, by accidents, by diseases, and old age, without any fault of their own: But these are very few, in comparison of the other; nor would their support be any sensible burthen to the public, if the charity of well-disposed persons were not intercepted by those common strolers, who are most importunate, and who least deserve it. These, indeed, are properly and justly called the poor, whom it should be our study to find out and distinguish, by making them partake of our superfluity and abundance.

But neither have these any thing to do with my present subject: For, by the poor I only intend the honest, industrious artificer, the meaner sort of tradesmen, and the labouring man, who getteth his bread by the sweat
of

of his brows, in town or country, and who make the bulk of mankind among us.

First, I shall therefore shew, first, that the poor (in the sense I understand the word) do enjoy many temporal blessings, which are not common to the rich and great; and likewise, that the rich and great are subject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

Secondly, From the arguments offered to prove the foregoing head, I shall draw some observations that may be useful for your practice.

1. As to the first: Health, we know, is generally allowed to be the best of all earthly possessions, because it is that, without which we can have no satisfaction in any of the rest. For riches are of no use, if sickness taketh from us the ability of enjoying them, and power and greatness are then only a burthen. Now, if we would look for health, it must be in the humble habitation of the labouring man, or industrious artificer, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, and usually live to a good age with a great degree of strength and vigour.

The refreshment of the body by sleep is another great happiness of the meaner sort. Their rest is not disturbed by the fear of thieves and robbers, nor is it interrupted by surfeits of intemperance. Labour and plain food supply the want of quieting draughts; and the wise man telleth us, that the sleep of the labouring man is sweet. As to children,
which

which are certainly accounted of as a blessing, even to the poor, where industry is not wanting; they are an assistance to their honest parents, instead of being a burthen; they are healthy and strong, and fit for labour; neither is the father in fear, lest his heir should be ruined by an unequal match; nor is he solicitous about his rising in the world, further than to be able to get his bread.

The poorer sort are not the objects of general hatred or envy; they have no twinges of ambition, nor trouble themselves with party-quarrels, or state divisions. The idle rabble, who follow their ambitious leaders in such cases, do not fall within my description of the poorer sort; for, it is plain, I mean only the honest industrious poor in town or country, who are safest in times of public disturbance, in perilous seasons, and public revolutions, if they will be quiet, and do their own business: For artificers and husbandmen are necessary in all governments: But in such seasons, the rich are the public mark, because they are oftentimes of no use, but to be plundered (like some sort of birds, who are good for nothing, but their feathers); and so fall a prey to the strongest side.

Let us proceed on the other side to examine the disadvantages that the rich and the great lie under, with respect to the happiness of the present life.

First then; While health, as we have said, is the general portion of the lower sort, the gout, the dropy, the stone, the colic, and other

other diseases, are continually haunting the palaces of the rich and the great, as the natural attendants upon laziness and luxury. Neither does the rich man eat his sumptuous fare with half the appetite and relish, that even the beggars do the crumbs which fall from his table : But, on the contrary, he is full of loathing and disgust, or at best of indifference, in the midst of plenty. Thus their intemperance shortens their lives, without pleasing their appetites.

Business, fear, guilt, design, anguish, and vexation are continually buzzing about the curtains of the rich and the powerful, and will hardly suffer them to close their eyes, unless when they are dozed with the fumes of strong liquors.

It is a great mistake to imagine, that the rich want but few things ; their wants are more numerous, more craving, and urgent, than those of poorer men : For these endeavour only at the necessities of life, which make them happy, and they think no further : But the desire of power and wealth is endless, and therefore impossible to be satisfied with any acquisitions.

If riches were so great a blessing as they are commonly thought, they would at least have this advantage, to give their owners chearful hearts and countenances ; they would often stir them up to express their thankfulness to God, and discover their satisfaction to the world. But, in fact, the contrary to all this is true. For where are there more cloudy brows, more melancholy hearts, or

24 *On the poor Man's Contentment.*

more ingratitude to their great Benefactor, than among those who abound in wealth ? And, indeed, it is natural that it should be so, because those men, who covet things that are to be got, must be hard to please ; whereas a small thing maketh a poor man happy ; and great losses cannot befall him.

It is likewise worth considering, how few among the rich have procured their wealth by just measures ; how many owe their fortunes to the sins of their parents, how many more to their own ? If men's titles were to be tried before a true court of conscience, where false swearing, and a thousand vile artifices (that are well known, and can hardly be avoided in human courts of justice), would avail nothing ; how many would be ejected with infamy and disgrace ? How many grow considerable by breach of trust, by bribery and corruption ? How many have sold their religion, with the rights and liberties of themselves and others, for power and employments ?

And, it is a mistake to think, that the most hardened sinner, who oweth his possessions or titles to any such wicked arts of thieving, can have true peace of mind, under the reproaches of a guilty conscience, and amidst the cries of ruined widows and orphans.

I know not one real advantage that the rich have over the poor, except the power of doing good to others : But this is an advantage which God hath not given wicked men
the

the grace to make use of. The wealth acquired by evil means was never employed to good ends ; for that would be to divide the kingdom of *Satan* against itself. Whatever hath been gained by fraud, avarice, oppression, and the like, must be preserved and increased by the same methods.

I shall add but one thing more upon this head, which, I hope, will convince you, that God (whose thoughts are not as our thoughts) never intended riches or power to be necessary for the happiness of mankind in this life ; because it is certain, that there is not one single good quality of the mind absolutely necessary to obtain them, where men are resolved to be rich at any rate ; neither honour, justice, temperance, wisdom, religion, truth, or learning ; for a slight acquaintance with the world will inform us, that there have been many instances of men, in all ages, who have arrived at great possessions and great dignities, by cunning, fraud, or flattery, without any of these, or any other virtues that can be named. Now, if riches and greatness were such blessings, that good men without them could not have their share of happiness in this life ; how cometh it to pass, that God should suffer them to be often dealt to the worst, and most profligate of mankind ? that they should be generally procured by the most abominable means, and applied to the basest and most wicked uses ? This ought not to be conceived of a just, a merciful, a wise, and Almighty Being. We must

must therefore conclude, that wealth and power are in their own nature, at best, but things indifferent, and that a good man may be equally happy without them, provided that he hath a sufficiency of the common blessings of human life to answer all the reasonable and virtuous demands of nature, which his industry will provide, and sobriety will prevent his wanting. *Agur's* prayer, with the reasons of his wish, are full to this purpose: "Give me neither poverty nor riches. Feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? Or, lest I be poor, and steal, and take the Name of my God in vain."

From what hath been said, I shall, in the second place, offer some considerations, that may be useful for practice.

And here I shall apply myself chiefly to those of the lower sort, for whose comfort and satisfaction this discourse is principally intended. For, having observed the great sin of those, who do not abound in wealth, to be that of murmuring and repining, that God hath dealt his blessings unequally to the sons of men, I thought it would be of great use to remove out of your minds so false and wicked an opinion, by shewing that your condition is really happier than most of you imagine.

First, therefore, it hath been always agreed in the world, that the present happiness

ness of mankind consisted in the ease of our body and the quiet of our mind ; but, from what hath been already said, it plainly appears, that neither wealth nor power do in any sort contribute to either of these two blessings. If, on the contrary, by multiplying our desires, they increase our discontents ; if they destroy our health, gall us with painful diseases, and shorten our life ; if they expose us to hatred, to envy, to censure, to a thousand temptations, it is not easy to see why a wise man should make them his choice, for their own sake, although it were in his power. Would any of you, who are in health and strength of body, with moderate food and raiment earned by your own labour, rather chuse to be in the rich man's bed, under the torture of the gout, unable to take your natural rest, or natural nourishment, with the additional load of a guilty conscience, reproaching you for injustice, oppressions, covetousness, and fraud ? No ; but you would take the riches and power, and leave behind the inconveniences that attend them ; and so would every man living. But that is more than our share, and God never intended this world for such a place of rest as we would make it ; for the scripture assureth us, that it was only designed as a place of trial. Nothing is more frequent, than a man to wish himself in another's condition ; yet he seldom doth it without some reserve : He would not be so old ; he would not be so sickly ;

he would not be so cruel ; he would not be so insolent ; he would not be so vicious ; he would not be so oppressive ; so griping ; and so on. From whence it is plain, that, in their own judgment, men are not so unequally dealt with, as they would at first sight imagine : For, if I would not change my condition with another man, without any exception or reservation at all, I am in reality more happy than he.

Secondly, You of the meaner sort are subject to fewer temptations than the rich ; and therefore your vices are more unpardonable. Labour subdueth your appetites to be satisfied with common things ; the business of your several callings filleth up your whole time ; so that idleness, which is the bane and destruction of virtue, doth not lead you into the neighbourhood of sin : Your passions are cooler, by not being inflamed with excess ; and therefore the gate and the way that lead to life are not so strait or so narrow to you, as to those who live among all the allurements to wickedness. To serve God with the best of your care and understanding, and to be just and true in your dealings, is the short sum of your duty, and will be the more strictly required of you, because nothing lieth in the way to divert you from it.

Thirdly, It is plain from what I have said, that you of the lower rank have no just reason to complain of your condition ; because,

as you plainly see, it affordeth you so many advantages, and freeth you from so many vexations, so many distempers both of body and mind, which pursue and torment the rich and powerful.

Fourthly, You are to remember and apply, that the poorest person is not excused from doing good to others, and even relieving the wants of his distressed neighbour, according to his abilities; and if you perform your duty in this point, you far outdo the greatest liberalities of the rich, and will accordingly be accepted of by God, and get your reward: For it is our Saviour's own doctrine, when the widow gave her two mites. The rich give out of their abundance; that is to say, what they give, they do not feel it in their way of living: But the poor man, who giveth out of his little stock, must spare it from the necessary food and raiment of himself and his family. And, therefore our Saviour adds, "That the widow gave more than all who went before her; for she gave all she had, even all her living;" and so went home utterly unprovided to supply her necessities.

Lastly, As it appeareth from what hath been said, that you of the lower rank have, in reality, a greater share of happiness, your work of salvation is easier, by your being liable to fewer temptations; and as your reward in heaven is much more certain, than it is to the rich, if you seriously perform

your duty, for yours is the kingdom of heaven: so your neglect of it will be less excuseable, will meet with fewer allowances from God, and will be punished with double stripes. For the most unknowing among you cannot plead ignorance in what you have been so early taught, I hope, so often instructed in, and which is so easy to be understood, I mean the art of leading a life agreeable to the plain and positive laws of God. Perhaps you may think you lie under one disadvantage, which the great and rich have not; that idleness will certainly reduce you to beggary; whereas those who abound in wealth lie under no necessity either of labour or temperance to keep enough to live on. But this is indeed one part of your happiness, that the lowness of your condition, in a manner, forceth you to what is pleasing to God, and necessary for your daily support. Thus your duty and interest are always the same.

To conclude; since our blessed Lord, instead of a rich and honourable station in this world, was pleased to chuse his lot among men of the lower condition; let not those, on whom the bounty of providence hath bestowed wealth and honours, despise the men who are placed in an humble and inferior station; but rather, with their utmost power, by their countenance, by their protection, by just payment for their honest labour, encourage their daily endeavours
for

for the virtuous support of themselves and their families. On the other hand, let the poor labour to provide things honest in the sight of all men; and so, with diligence in their several employments, live soberly, righteously, and godlily in this present world, that they may obtain that glorious reward promised in the gospel to the poor, I mean the kingdom of heaven.

Now to God the Father, &c.

A SER-

A
S E R M O N
ON THE
C A U S E S
OF THE

Wretched Condition of *IRELAND*.

PSALM CXLIV. Part of the 13th and 14th
Verses.

*That there be no Complaining in our Streets.
Happy is the People that is in such a Case.*

IT is a very melancholy reflexion, that such a country as ours, which is capable of producing all things necessary, and most things convenient for life, sufficient for the support of four times the number of its inhabitants, should yet lie under the heaviest load of misery and want, our streets crouded with beggars, so many of our lower sort of tradesmen, labourers, and artificers not able to find cloaths and food for their families.

I think it may therefore be of some use to lay before you the chief causes of this wretched condition we are in, and then it will be easier to assign what remedies are in our power
towards

towards removing, at least, some part of these evils.

For it is ever to be lamented, that we lie under many disadvantages, not by our own faults, which are peculiar to ourselves, and which no other nation under heaven hath any reason to complain of.

I shall, therefore, first mention some causes of our miseries, which I doubt are not to be remedied, until God shall put it in the hearts of those who are the stronger to allow us the common rights and privileges of brethren, fellow subjects, and even of mankind.

The first cause of our misery is the intolerable hardships we lye under in every branch of trade, by which we are become as hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to our rigorous neighbours.

The second cause of our miserable state is the folly, the vanity, and ingratitude of those vast numbers, who think themselves too good to live in the country which gave them birth, and still gives them bread; and rather choose to pass their days, and consume their wealth, and draw out the very vitals of their mother kingdom, among those who heartily despise them.

These I have but lightly touched on, because I fear they are not to be redressed, and, besides, I am very sensible how ready some people are to take offence at the honest truth; and, for that reason, I shall omit several other grievances, under which we are long likely to groan.

I shall

I shall therefore go on to relate some other causes of this nation's poverty, by which, if they continue much longer, it must infallibly sink to utter ruin.

The first is, that monstrous pride and vanity in both sexes, especially the weaker sex, who, in the midst of poverty, are suffered to run into all kind of expence and extravagance in dress, and particularly priding themselves to wear nothing but what cometh from abroad, disdaining the growth or manufacture of their own country, in those articles where they can be better served at home with half the expence; and this is grown to such a height, that they will carry the whole yearly rent of a good estate at once on their body. And, as there is in that sex a spirit of envy, by which they cannot endure to see others in a better habit than themselves, so those, whose fortunes can hardly support their families in the necessaries of life, will needs vye with the richest and greatest among us, to the ruin of themselves and their posterity.

Neither are the men less guilty of this pernicious folly, who, in imitation of a gaudiness and foppery of dress, introduced of late years into our neighbouring kingdom (as fools are apt to imitate only the defects of their betters), cannot find materials in their own country worthy to adorn their bodies of clay, while their minds are naked of every valuable quality.

Thus our tradesmen and shopkeepers, who deal in home-goods, are left in a starving condition;

dition ; and only those encouraged, who ruin the kingdom by importing among us foreign vanities.

Another cause of our low condition is our great luxury, the chief support of which is the materials of it brought to the nation in exchange for the few valuable things left us, whereby so many thousand families want the very necessaries of life.

Thirdly, in most parts of this kingdom the natives are from their infancy so given up to idleness and sloth, that they often chuse to beg or steal, rather than support themselves with their own labour ; they marry without the least view or thought of being able to make any provision for their families ; and whereas, in all industrious nations, children are looked on as a help to their parents, with us, for want of being early trained to work, they are an intolerable burthen at home, and a grievous charge upon the publick, as appeareth from the vast number of ragged and naked children in town and country, led about by stroling women, trained up in ignorance and all manner of vice.

Lastly, A great cause of this nation's misery, is that *Egyptian* bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous landlords, expecting that all who live under them should make bricks without straw, who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the spirits of the people
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are broken, and made for slavery ; the farmers and cottagers, almost through the whole kingdom, being, to all intents and purposes, as real beggars as any of those to whom we give our charity in the streets. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling their kingdom, by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth, against common reason and justice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations, by which numberless families have been forced either to leave the kingdom, or strole about, and increase the number of our thieves and beggars.

Such, and much worse, is our condition at present, if I had leisure or liberty to lay it before you ; and, therefore, the next thing which might be considered is, whether there may be any probable remedy found, at the least against some part of these evils ; for most of them are wholly desperate.

But this being too large a subject to be now handled, and the intent of my discourse confining me to give some directions concerning the poor of this city, I shall keep myself within those limits. It is indeed in the power of the law-givers to found a school in every parish of the kingdom, for teaching the meaner and poorer sort of children to speak and read the *English* tongue, and to provide a reasonable maintenance for the teachers. This would, in time, abolish that part of barbarity and ignorance, for which our natives are so despised by all foreigners ; this would bring them to think and act according to the rules of
reason,

reason, by which a spirit of industry, and thrift, and honesty would be introduced among them. And, indeed, considering how small a tax would suffice for such a work, it is a publick scandal that such a thing should never have been endeavoured, or, perhaps, so much as thought on.

To supply the want of such a law, several pious persons, in many parts of this kingdom, have been prevailed on, by the great endeavours and good example set them by the clergy, to erect charity schools in several parishes, to which very often the richest parishioners contribute the least. In these schools, children are, or ought to be, trained up to read and write, and cast accounts; and these children should, if possible, be of honest parents, gone to decay through age, sickness, or other unavoidable calamity, by the hand of God; not the brood of wicked strollers; for it is by no means reasonable, that the charity of well-inclined people should be applied to encourage the lewdness of those profligate, abandoned women, who crowd our streets with their borrowed or spurious issue.

In those hospitals which have good foundations and rents to support them, whereof, to the scandal of christianity, there are very few in this kingdom; I say, in such hospitals, the children maintained ought to be only of decayed citizens and freemen, and be bred up to good trades. But in these small parish charity schools, which have no support but the casual good will of charitable people,

I do altogether disapprove the custom of putting the children 'prentice, except to the very meanest trades; otherwise the poor honest citizen, who is just able to bring up his child, and pay a small sum of money with him to a good master, is wholly defeated, and the bastard issue, perhaps, of some beggar preferred before him. And hence we come to be so over-stocked with 'prentices and journey-men, more than our discouraged country can employ; and, I fear, the greatest part of our thieves, pickpockets, and other vagabonds are of this number.

Therefore, in order to make these parish charity schools of great and universal use, I agree with the opinion of many wise persons, that a new turn should be given to this whole matter.

I think there is no complaint more just than what we find in almost every family, of the folly and ignorance, the fraud and knavery, the idleness and viciousness, the wastful squandering temper of servants, who are, indeed, become one of the many publick grievances of the kingdom; whereof, I believe, there are few masters that now hear me who are not convinced by their own experience. And I am very confident, that more families, of all degrees, have been ruined by the corruptions of servants, than by all other causes put together. Neither is this to be wondered at, when we consider from what nurseries so many of them are received into our houses. The first is the tribe of wicked boys, wherewith
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most corners of this town are pestered, who haunt publick doors. These, having been born of beggars, and bred to pilfer as soon as they can go or speak, as years come on, are employed in the lowest offices to get themselves bread, are practised in all manner of villainy, and when they are grown up, if they are not entertained in a gang of thieves, are forced to seek for a service. The other nursery is the barbarous and desert part of the country, from whence such lads come up hither to seek their fortunes, as are bred up from the dunghill in idleness, ignorance, lying, and thieving. From these two nurseries, I say, a great number of our servants come to us, sufficient to corrupt all the rest. Thus, the whole race of servants in this kingdom have gotten so ill a reputation, that some persons from *England*, come over hither into great stations, are said to have absolutely refused admitting any servant born among us into their families. Neither can they be justly blamed; for although it is not impossible to find an honest native fit for a good service, yet the enquiry is too troublesome, and the hazard too great for a stranger to attempt.

If we consider the many misfortunes that befall private families, it will be found that servants are the causes and instruments of them all: Are our goods embezzled, wasted and destroyed? Is our house burnt down to the ground? It is by the sloth, the drunkenness or the villainy of servants. Are we robbed and murdered in our beds? It is by

confederacy with our servants. Are we engaged in quarrels and misunderstandings with our neighbours? These were all begun and inflamed by the false, malicious tongues of our servants. Are the secrets of our family betrayed, and evil repute spread of us? Our servants were the authors. Do false accusers rise up against us (an evil too frequent in this country)? They have been tampering with our servants. Do our children discover folly, malice, pride, cruelty, revenge, undutifulness in their words and actions? Are they seduced to lewdness or scandalous marriages? It is all by our servants. Nay, the very mistakes, follies, blunders, and absurdities of those in our service, are able to ruffle and discompose the mildest nature, and are often of such consequence, as to put whole families into confusion.

Since therefore not only our domestic peace and quiet, and the welfare of our children, but even the very safety of our lives, reputations, and fortunes have so great a dependence upon the choice of our servants, I think it would well become the wisdom of the nation to make some provision in so important an affair. But in the mean time, and, perhaps, to better purpose, it were to be wished, that the children of both sexes, entertained in the parish charity-schools, were bred up in such a manner as would give them a teachable disposition, and qualify them to learn whatever is required in any sort of service. For instance,

stance, they should be taught to read and write, to know somewhat in casting accounts, to understand the principles of religion, to practise cleanliness, to get a spirit of honesty, industry, and thrift, and be severely punished for every neglect in any of these particulars. For it is the misfortune of mankind, that if they are not used to be taught in their early childhood; whereby to acquire what I call a teachable disposition, they cannot, without great difficulty, learn the easiest thing in the course of their lives, but are always awkward and unhandy; their minds, as well as bodies, for want of early practice, growing stiff and unmanageable, as we observe in the sort of gentlemen, who, kept from school by the indulgence of their parents but a few years, are never able to recover the time they have lost, and grow up in ignorance and all manner of vice, whereof we have too many examples all over the nation. But to return to what I was saying: If these charity-children were trained up in the manner I mentioned, and then bound apprentices in the families of gentlemen and citizens (for which a late law giveth great encouragement), being accustomed from their first entrance to be always learning some useful thing, they would learn, in a month, more than another, without those advantages, can do in a year; and, in the mean time, be very useful in a family, as far as their age and strength would allow. And when such children come to years of discretion, they will probably be a useful example.

to their fellow-servants, at least they will prove a strong check upon the rest; for, I suppose, every body will allow, that one good, honest, diligent, servant in a house may prevent abundance of mischief in the family.

These are the reasons for which I urge this matter so strongly, that I hope those who listen to me will consider them.

I shall now say something about that great number of poor, who, under the name of common beggars, infest our streets, and fill our ears with their continual cries, and craving importunity. This I shall venture to call an unnecessary evil, brought upon us for the gross neglect, and want of proper management, in those whose duty it is to prevent it. But before I proceed farther, let me humbly presume to vindicate the justice and mercy of God and his dealings with mankind. Upon this particular he hath not dealt so hardly with his creatures as some would imagine, when they see so many miserable objects ready to perish for want: For it would infallibly be found, upon strict enquiry, that there is hardly one in twenty of those miserable objects who do not owe their present poverty to their own faults, to their present sloth and negligence, to their indiscreet marriage without the least prospect of supporting a family, to their foolish expensiveness, to their drunkenness, and other vices, by which they have squandered their gettings, and contracted diseases in their old age. And, to speak freely, is it any way reasonable or just, that those who have denied them-

themselves many lawful satisfactions and conveniencies of life, from a principle of conscience, as well as prudence, that they might not be a burthen to the public, should be charged with supporting others, who have brought themselves to less than a morsel of bread by their idleness, extravagance, and vice? Yet such, and no other, are for the greatest number not only in those who beg in our streets, but even of what we call poor decayed housekeepers, whom we are apt to pity as real objects of charity, and distinguish them from common beggars, although, in truth, they both owe their undoing to the same causes; only the former is either too nicely bred to endure walking half naked in the streets, or too proud to own their wants. For the artificer or other tradesman, who pleadeth he is grown too old to work or look after business, and therefore expecteth assistance as a decayed housekeeper; may we not ask him, why he did not take care, in his youth and strength of days, to make some provision against old age, when he saw so many examples before him of people undone by their idleness and vicious extravagance? and to go a little higher; whence cometh it that so many citizens and shopkeepers, of the most creditable trade, who once made a good figure, go to decay by their expensive pride and vanity, affecting to educate and dress their children above their abilities, or the state of life they ought to expect?

However, since the best of us have too many infirmities to answer for, we ought not to be severe upon those of others; and therefore, if our brother, through grief, or sickness, or other incapacity, is not in a condition to preserve his being, we ought to support him to the best of our power, without reflecting over-seriously on the causes that brought him to his misery. But in order to this, and to turn our charity into its proper channel, we ought to consider who and where those objects are, whom it is chiefly incumbent upon us to support.

By the ancient law of this realm, still in force, every parish is obliged to maintain its own poor, which although some may think to be not very equal, because many parishes are very rich, and have few poor among them, and others the contrary; yet, I think, may be justly defended: For as to remote country parishes in the desert part of the kingdom, the necessaries of life are there so cheap, that the infirm poor may be provided for with little burden to the inhabitants. But in what I am going to say, I shall confine myself only to this city, where we are over-run not only with our own poor, but with a far greater number from every part of the nation. Now, I say, this evil of being encumbered with so many foreign beggars, who have not the least title to our charity, and whom it is impossible for us to support, may be easily remedied, if the government of this city, in conjunction with the clergy and parish officers, would think it
worth

worth their care; and I am sure few things deserve it better. For, if every parish would take a list of those begging poor which properly belong to it, and compel each of them to wear a badge, marked and numbered, so as to be seen and known by all they meet, and confine them to beg within the limits of their own parish, severely punishing them when they offend, and driving out all interlopers from other parishes, we could then make a computation of their numbers; and the strolers from the country being driven away, the remainder would not be too many for the charity of those who pass by to maintain; neither would any beggar, although confined to his own parish, be hindered from receiving the charity of the whole town; because, in this case, those well-disposed persons who walk the streets will give their charity to such whom they think proper objects, wherever they meet them, provided they are found in their own parishes, and wearing their badges of distinction. And, as to those parishes which bordered upon the skirts and suburbs of the town, where country strolers are used to harbour themselves, they must be forced to go back to their homes, when they find no body to relieve them, because they want that mark which only gives them licence to beg. Upon this point, it were to be wished, that inferior parish-officers had better encouragement given them to perform their duty in driving away all beggars who do not belong to the parish, instead of conniving at them,

as it is said they do for some small contribution ; for the whole city would save much more by ridding themselves of many hundred beggars, than they would lose by giving parish-officers a reasonable support.

It should seem a strange, unaccountable thing, that those who have probably been reduced to want by riot, lewdness, and idleness, although they have assurance enough to beg publickly from all they meet, should yet be too proud to wear the parish badge, which would turn so much to their own advantage, by ridding them of such great numbers, who now intercept the greatest part of what belongeth to them : Yet it is certain, that there are very many who publickly declare they will never wear those badges, and many others who either hide or throw them away : But the remedy for this is very short, easy, and just, by tying them like vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and forcibly driving them out of the town.

Therefore, as soon as this expedient of wearing badges shall be put in practice, I do earnestly exhort all those who hear me, never to give their alms to any public beggar who doth not fully comply with this order, by which our number of poor will be so reduced, that it will be much easier to provide for the rest. Our shop-doors will be no longer crouded with so many thieves and pick-pockets, in beggars habits, nor our streets so dangerous to those who are forced to walk in the night.

Thus

Thus I have, with great freedom, delivered my thoughts upon this subject, which so nearly concerneth us. It is certainly a bad scheme, to any christian country, which God hath blessed with fruitfulness, and where the people enjoy the just rights and privileges of mankind, that they should be any beggars at all. But, alas! among us, where the whole nation itself is almost reduced to beggary, by the disadvantages we lie under, and the hardships we are forced to bear; the laziness, ignorance, thoughtlessness, squandering temper, slavish nature, and uncleanly manner of living, in the poor popish natives, together with the cruel oppressions of their landlords, who delight to see their vassals in the dust; I say, that in such a nation, how can we otherwise expect than to be over-run with objects of misery and want? Therefore, there can be no other method to free this city from so intolerable a grievance, than by endeavouring, as far as in us lies, that the burden may be more equally divided, by contributing to maintain our own poor, and forcing the strolers and vagabonds to return to their several homes in the country, there to smite the conscience of those oppressors, who first stripped them of all their substance.

I might here, if the time would permit, offer many arguments to persuade to works of charity; but you hear them so often from the pulpit, that I am willing to hope you may not now want them. Besides, my present design was only to shew where your alms

would be best bestowed, to the honour of God, your own ease and advantage, the service of your country, and the benefit of the poor. I desire you will all weigh and consider what I have spoken, and, according to your several stations and abilities, endeavour to put it in practice ; and God give you good success, to whom, with the Son and Holy Ghost, be all honour, &c.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

A
S E R M O N
UPON

SLEEPING in CHURCH.

ACTS, Chap. xx. Ver. 9.

And there sat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep; and while Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead.

I HAVE chosen these words with design, if possible, to disturb some part in this audience of half an hour's sleep, for the convenience and exercise whereof this place, at this season of the day, is very much celebrated.

There is indeed one mortal disadvantage to which all preaching is subject; that those who, by the wickedness of their lives, stand in greatest need, have usually the smallest share; for either they are absent upon the account of idleness, or spleen, or hatred to religion, or in order to doze away the intemperance of the week; or, if they do come, they are sure to employ their minds rather
any

50 UPON SLEEPING

any other way, than regarding or attending to the business of the place.

The accident which happened to this young man in the text, hath not been sufficient to discourage his successors: But, because the preachers now in the world, however they may exceed *St. Paul* in the art of setting men to sleep, do extremely fall short of him in the working of miracles; therefore men are become so cautious as to chuse more safe and convenient stations and postures for taking their repose, without hazard of their persons; and, upon the whole matter, chuse rather to trust their destruction to a miracle, than their safety. However, this being not the only way by which the lukewarm christians and scorners of the age discover their neglect and contempt of preaching, I shall enter expressly into consideration of this matter, and order my discourse in the following method:

First, I shall produce several instances to shew the great neglect of preaching now among us.

Secondly, I shall reckon up some of the usual quarrels men have against preaching.

Thirdly, I shall set forth the great evil of this neglect and contempt of preaching, and discover the real causes from whence it proceedeth.

Lastly, I shall offer some remedies against this great and spreading evil.

First,

First, I shall produce certain instances to shew the great neglect of preaching now among us.

These may be reduced under two heads. First, men's absence from the service of the church; and secondly, their misbehaviour when they are here.

The first instance of men's neglect, is in their frequent absence from the church.

There is no excuse so trivial, that will not pass upon some men's consciences to excuse their attendance at the public worship of God. Some are so unfortunate as to be always indisposed on the Lord's day, and think nothing so unwholesome as the air of a church. Others have their affairs so oddly contrived, as to be always unluckily prevented by business. With some it is a great mark of wit, and deep understanding, to stay at home on *Sundays*. Others again discover strange fits of laziness, that seize them, particularly on that day, and confine them to their beds. Others are absent out of meer contempt of religion. And, lastly, there are not a few who look upon it as a day of rest, and therefore claim the privilege of their castle, to keep the sabbath by eating, drinking, and sleeping, after the toil and labour of the week. Now in all this the worst circumstance is, that these persons are such whose companies are most required, and who stand most in need of a physician.

Secondly, Men's great neglect and contempt of preaching appear by their misbehaviour when at church.

52 UPON SLEEPING

If the audience were to be ranked under several heads, according to their behaviour, when the word of God is delivered, how small a number would appear of those who receive it as they ought ! How much of the seed then sown would be found to fall by the way side, upon stony ground, or among thorns ! and how little good ground would there be to take it ! A preacher cannot look round from the pulpit, without observing, that some are in a perpetual whisper, and, by their air and gesture, give occasion to suspect, that they are in those very minutes defaming their neighbour. Others have their eyes and imagination constantly engaged in such a circle of objects, perhaps to gratify the most unwarrantable desires, that they never once attend to the business of the place ; the sound of the preacher's words doth not so much as once interrupt them. Some have their minds wandering among idle, worldly, or vicious thoughts. Some lie at catch to ridicule whatever they hear, and with much wit and humour provide a stock of laughter, by furnishing themselves from the pulpit. But, of all misbehaviour, none is comparable to that of those who come here to sleep ; opium is not so stupifying to many persons as an afternoon sermon. Perpetual custom hath so brought it about, that the words, of whatever preacher, become only a sort of uniform sound at a distance, than which nothing is more effectual to lull the senses. For, that it is the very sound of the sermon which bindeth
up

up their faculties, is manifest from hence, because they all awake so very regularly as soon as it ceaseth, and with much devotion receive the blessing, dozed and besotted with indecencies I am ashamed to repeat.

I proceed, *Secondly*, to reckon up some of the usual quarrels men have against preaching, and to shew the unreasonableness of them.

Such unwarrantable demeanor as I have described, among christians, in the house of God, in a solemn assembly, while their faith and duty are explained and delivered, have put those who are guilty upon inventing some excuses to extenuate their fault: This they do by turning the blame either upon the particular preacher, or upon preaching in general. First, they object against the particular preacher; his manner, his delivery, his voice, are disagreeable; his style and expression are flat and low; sometimes improper and absurd; the matter is heavy, trivial and insipid; sometimes despicable, and perfectly ridiculous; or else, on the other side, he runs up into unintelligible speculation, empty notions, and abstracted flights, all clad in words above usual understandings.

Secondly, They object against preaching in general; it is a perfect road of talk; they know already whatever can be said; they have heard the same an hundred times over. They quarrel that preachers do not relieve an old beaten subject with wit and invention; and that now the art is lost of moving men's passions,

54 UPON SLEEPING

sions, so common among the ancient orators of *Greece* and *Rome*. These, and the like objections, are frequently in the mouths of men who despise the foolishness of preaching. But let us examine the reasonableness of them.

The doctrine delivered by all preachers is the same: *So we preach, and so ye believe*: But the manner of delivering is suited to the skill and abilities of each, which differ in preachers just as in the rest of mankind. However, in personal dislikes of a particular preacher, are these men sure they are always in the right? Do they consider how mixed a thing is every audience, whose taste and judgment differ, perhaps, every day, not only from each other, but themselves? And how to calculate a discourse, that shall exactly suit them all, is beyond the force and reach of human reason, knowledge or invention. Wit and eloquence are shining qualities, that God hath imparted, in great degrees, to very few, nor any more to be expected, in the generality of any rank among men, than riches and honour. But further: If preaching in general be all old and beaten, and that they are already so well acquainted with it, more shame and guilt to them who so little edify by it. But these men, whose ears are so delicate as not to endure a plain discourse of religion, who expect a constant supply of wit and eloquence on a subject handled so many thousand times; what will they say when we turn the objection upon themselves, who, with all the lewd and prophane liberty of discourse they take,

take, upon so many thousand subjects, are so dull as to furnish nothing but tedious repetitions, and little paultry, nauseous common-places, so vulgar, so worn, or so obvious, as, upon any other occasion, but that of advancing vice, would be hooted off the stage? Nor, lastly, are preachers justly blamed for neglecting human oratory to move the passions, which is not the business of a christian orator, whose office it is only to work upon faith and reason. All other eloquence hath been a perfect cheat, to stir up men's passions against truth and justice, for the service of a faction, to put false colours upon things, and, by an amusement of agreeable words, make the worse reason appear to be the better. This is certainly not to be allowed in christian eloquence, and therefore *St. Paul* took quite the other course; he *came not with excellency of words, or enticing speech of men's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the spirit and power*. And perhaps it was for that reason the young man *Eutychus*, used to the *Grecian* eloquence, grew tired and fell so fast asleep.

I go on, *Thirdly*, to set forth the great evil of this neglect and scorn of preaching, and to discover the real causes from whence it proceedeth.

I think it is obvious to believe, that this neglect of preaching hath very much occasioned the great decay of religion among us. To this may be imputed no small part of that contempt

contempt some men bestow on the clergy ; for, whoever talketh without being regarded, is sure to be despised. To this we owe, in a great measure, the spreading of atheism and infidelity among us ; for religion, like all other things, is soonest put out of countenance by being ridiculed. The scorn of preaching might perhaps have been at first introduced by men of nice ears and refined taste ; but it is now become a spreading evil, through all degrees, and both sexes ; for, since sleeping, talking and laughing are qualities sufficient to furnish out a critic, the meanest and most ignorant have set up a title, and succeeded in it as well as their betters. Thus are the last efforts of reforming mankind rendered wholly useless : *How shall they hear, saith the apostle, without a preacher ?* But, if they have a preacher, and make it a point of wit or breeding not to hear him, what remedy is left ? To this neglect of preaching, we may also entirely impute that gross ignorance among us, in the very principles of religion, which it is amazing to find in persons who very much value their own knowledge and understanding in other things ; yet it is a visible, inexcusable ignorance, even in the meanest among us, considering the many advantages they have of learning their duty. And it hath been the great encouragement to all manner of vice : For in vain we preach down sin to a people, *whose hearts are waxed gross, whose ears are dull of hearing, and whose eyes are closed.* Therefore

fore Christ himself, in his discourses, frequently rouseth up the attention of the multitude, and of his disciples themselves, with this expression, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*. But, among all neglects of preaching, none is so fatal as that of sleeping in the house of God; a scorner may listen to truth and reason, and in time grow serious; an unbeliever may feel the pangs of a guilty conscience; one whose thoughts or eyes wander among other objects, may, by a lucky word, be called back to attention: But the sleeper shuts up all avenues to his soul: *He is like the deaf adder, that bearkeneth not to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely*. And, we may preach with as good success to the grave that is under his feet.

But the great evil of this neglect will further yet appear, from considering the real causes whence it proceedeth; whereof the first, I take to be, an evil conscience. Many men come to church to save or gain a reputation; or because they will not be singular, but comply with an established custom; yet, all the while, they are loaded with the guilt of old rooted sins. These men can expect to hear of nothing but terrors and threatenings, their sins laid open in true colours, and eternal misery the reward of them; therefore, no wonder they stop their ears, and divert their thoughts, and seek any amusement, rather than stir the hell within them.

Another cause of this neglect is, a heart set upon worldly things. Men whose minds
are

58 UPON SLEEPING

are much enslaved to earthly affairs all the week, cannot disengage or break the chain of their thoughts so suddenly, as to apply to a discourse that is wholly foreign to what they have most at heart. Tell an usurer of charity, and mercy, and restitution, you talk to the deaf; his heart and soul, with all his senses, are got among his bags, or he is gravely asleep, and dreaming of a mortgage. Tell a man of business, that the cares of the world choke the good seed; that we must not encumber ourselves with much serving; that the salvation of his soul is the one thing necessary: You see, indeed, the shape of a man before you, but his faculties are all gone off among clients and papers, thinking how to defend a bad cause, or find flaws in a good one; or, he weareth out the time in drowsy nods.

A third cause of the great neglect and scorn of preaching, ariseth from the practice of men who set up to decry and disparage religion; these, being zealous to promote infidelity and vice, learn a rote of buffoonry that serveth all occasions, and refutes the strongest arguments for piety and good manners. These have a set of ridicule calculated for all sermons, and all preachers, and can be extreme witty as often as they please upon the same fund.

Let me now, in the last place, offer some remedies against this great evil.

It will be one remedy against the contempt of preaching, rightly to consider the

end for which it was designed. There are many who place abundance of merit in going to church, although it be with no other prospect but that of being well entertained, wherein if they happen to fail, they return wholly disappointed. Hence it is become an impertinent vein among people of all sorts to hunt after what they call a good sermon, as if it were a matter of pastime and diversion. Our business, alas ! is quite another thing, either to learn, or at least be reminded, of our duty, to apply the doctrines delivered, compare the rules we hear with our lives and actions, and find wherein we have transgressed. These are the dispositions men should bring into the house of God, and then they will be little concerned about the preacher's wit or eloquence, nor be curious to enquire out his faults or infirmities, but consider how to correct their own.

Another remedy against the contempt of preaching, is, that men would consider, whether it be not reasonable to give more allowances for the different abilities of preachers than they usually do ; refinements of stile, and flights of wit, as they are not properly the business of any preacher, so they cannot possibly be the talents of all. In most other discourses, men are satisfied with sober sense and plain reason ; and, as understandings usually go, even that is not over frequent. Then why they should be so over nice, and expect eloquence where it is neither necessary nor convenient, is hard to imagine.

Lastly,

Lastly, The scorers of preaching would do well to consider, that this talent of ridicule, they value so much, is a perfection very easily acquired, and applied to all things whatsoever; neither is any thing at all the worse, because it is capable of being perverted to burlesque: Perhaps it may be the more perfect upon that score; since we know, the most celebrated pieces have been thus treated with greatest success. It is in any man's power to suppose a fool's cap on the wisest head, and then laugh at his own supposition. I think there are not many things cheaper than supposing and laughing; and if the uniting of these two talents can bring a thing into contempt, it is hard to know where it may end.

To conclude. These considerations may, perhaps, have some effect while men are awake; but what arguments shall we use to the sleeper? What methods shall we take to hold open his eyes? Will he be moved by considerations of common civility? We know it is reckoned a point of very bad manners to sleep in private company, when, perhaps, the tedious impertinence of many talkers would render it at least as excusable as at the dullest sermon. Do they think it a small thing to watch four hours at a play, where all virtue and religion are openly reviled; and can they not watch one half hour to hear them defended? Is this to deal like a judge (I mean like a good judge), to listen on one side of the cause, and sleep on the other? I shall

shall add but one word more : That this indecent sloth is very much owing to that luxury and excess men usually practice upon this day, by which half the service thereof is turned to sin ; men dividing the time between God and their bellies, when, after a gluttonous meal, their senses dozed and stupified, they retire to God's house to sleep out the afternoon. Surely, brethren, these things ought not so to be.

He that hath ears to hear let him hear. And God give us all grace to hear and receive his holy word to the salvation of our own souls.

R E M A R K S

U P O N A

B O O K,

I N T I T U L E D,

The Rights of the Christian Church, &c.

Written in the Year 1708, but left unfinished.

BEFORE I enter upon a particular examination of this treatise, it will be convenient to do two things :

First, To give some account of the author, together with the motives, that might probably engage him in such a work. And,

Secondly, To discover the nature and tendency in general, of the work itself.

The first of these, although it hath been objected against, seems highly reasonable, especially in books that instil pernicious principles. For, although a book is not intrinsically much better or worse, according to the stature or complexion of the author, when it happens to make a noise, we are apt, and curious, as in other noises, to look about from whence it cometh. But, however, there is something more in the matter.

If a theological subject be well handled by a layman, it is better received than if it came from a divine; and that for reasons obvious

obvious enough, which, although of little weight in themselves, will ever have a great deal with mankind.

But, when books are written with ill intentions, to advance dangerous opinions, or destroy foundations; it may be then of real use to know from what quarter they come, and go a good way towards their confutation. For instance, if any man should write a book against the lawfulness of punishing felony with death; and, upon enquiry, the author should be found in *Newgate* under condemnation for robbing a house; his arguments would not very unjustly lose much of their force, from the circumstances he lay under. So when *Milton* writ his book of divorces, it was presently rejected as an occasional treatise; because every body knew, he had a shrew for his wife. Neither can there be any reason imagined, why he might not, after he was blind, have writ another upon the danger and inconvenience of eyes. But it is a piece of logic which will hardly pass on the world; that because one man hath a sore nose, therefore all the town should put plaisters upon theirs. So, if this treatise about the rights of the church should prove to be the work of a man steady in his principles, of exact morals, and profound learning, a true lover of his country, and a hater of christianity, as what he really believes to be a cheat upon mankind, whom he would undeceive purely for their good; it might be apt to check unwary men, even

of good dispositions towards religion. But, if it be found the production of a man sowered with age and misfortunes, together with the consciousness of past miscarriages; of one, who, in hopes of preferment, was reconciled to the *Popish* religion; of one wholly prostitute in life and principles, and only an enemy to religion, because it condemns them: In this case, and this last I find is the universal opinion, he is like to have few proselytes, beside those, who, from a sense of their vicious lives, require to be perpetually supplied by such amusements as this; which serve to flatter their wishes, and debase their understandings.

I know there are some who would fain have it, that this discourse was written by a club of free-thinkers, among whom the supposed author only came in for a share. But, sure, we cannot judge so meanly of any party, without affronting the dignity of mankind. If this be so, and if here be the product of all their quotas and contributions, we must needs allow, that free-thinking is a most confined and limited talent. It is true indeed, the whole discourse seemeth to be a motly, inconsistent composition, made up of various shreds of equal fineness, although of different colours. It is a bundle of incoherent maxims and assertions, that frequently destroy one another. But still there is the same flatness of thought and stile; the same weak advances towards wit and raillery; the same petulancy and pertness of spirit; the

the same train of superficial reading; the same thread of thread-bare quotations: the same affection of forming general rules upon false and scanty premisses. And lastly, the same rapid venom sprinkled over the whole; which, like the dying impotent bite of a trodden benumbed snake, may be nauseous and offensive, but cannot be very dangerous.

And, indeed, I am so far from thinking this libel to be born of several fathers, that it hath been the wonder of several others, as well as myself, how it was possible for any man, who appeareth to have gone the common circle of academical education; who hath taken so universal a liberty, and hath so entirely laid aside all regards, not only of Christianity, but common truth and justice; one who is dead to all sense of shame, and seemeth to be past the getting or losing of a reputation, should, with so many advantages, and upon so unlimited a subject, come out with so poor, so jejune a production. Should we pity or be amazed at so perverse a talent, which, instead of qualifying an author to give a new turn to old matter, disposeth him, quite contrary, to talk in an old beaten trivial manner upon topics wholly new: to make so many fallies into pedantry without a call, upon a subject the most alien, and in the very moments he is declaiming against it, and in an age too where it is so violently exploded, especially among those readers he proposeth to entertain?

I know it well be said, that this is only to talk in the common style of an answerer; but I have not so little policy. If there were any hope of reputation or merit from such victory, I should be apt like others to cry up the courage and conduct of an enemy. Whereas to detect the weakness, the malice, tho' sophistry, the falshood, the ignorance of such a writer, requireth little more than to rank his perfections in such an order, and place them in such a light, that the commonest reader may form a judgment of them.

It may still be a wonder how so heavy a book, written upon a subject in appearance so little instructive or diverting, should survive to three editions, and consequently find a better reception than is usual with such bulky spiritless volumes; and this, in an age that pretendeth so soon to be nauseated with what is tedious and dull. To which I can only return, that as burning a book by the common hangman is a known expedient to make it sell: so, to write a book that deserveth such treatment, is another: And a third, perhaps as effectual as either, is to ply an insipid, worthless tract with grave and learned answers, as *Dr. Hicks*, *Dr. Potter*, and *Mr. Wotton* have done. Design and performances, however commendable, have glanced a reputation upon the piece; which oweth its life to the strength of those hands and weapons, that were raised to destroy it; like flinging a mountain upon a worm, which, instead

instead of being bruised, by the advantage of its littleness, lodgeth under it unhurt.

But neither is this all. For the subject, as unpromising as it seemeth at first view, is no less than that of *Lucretius*, to free men's minds from the bondage of religion; and this not by little hints and by piece-meal, after the manner of those little atheistical tracts that steal into the world, but in a thorough wholesale manner; by making religion, church, christianity, with all their concomitants, a perfect contrivance of the civil power. It is an imputation often charged on these sort of men, that, by their invectives against religion, they can possibly propose no other end than that of fortifying themselves and others against the reproaches of a vicious life; it being necessary for men of libertine practices to embrace libertine principles, or else they cannot act in consistence with any reason, or preserve any peace of mind. Whether such authors have this design (whereof I think they have never gone about to acquit themselves) thus much is certain; that no other use is made of such writings: Neither did I ever hear this author's book justified by any person, either Whig or Tory, except such who are of that profligate character. And, I believe, whoever examineth it, will be of the same opinion; although, indeed, such wretches are so numerous, that it seemeth rather surprizing, why the book hath had no more editions, than why it should have so many.

Having

Having thus endeavoured to satisfy the curious with some account of this author's character, let us examine what might probably be the motives to engage him in such a work. I shall say nothing of the principal, which is a sum of money; because that is not a mark to distinguish him from any other trader with the press. I will say nothing of revenge and malice from resentment, of the indignities and contempt he hath undergone for his crime of apostacy: To this passion he has thought fit to sacrifice order, propriety, discretion, and common-sense, as may be seen in every page of his book: But I am deceived, if there were not a third motive as powerful as the other two; and that is, vanity. About the latter end of king *James's* reign, he had almost finished a learned discourse in defence of the church of *Rome*, and to justify his conversion: All which, upon the revolution, was quite out of season. Having thus prostituted his reputation, and at once ruined his hopes, he had no course left, but to shew his spite against religion in general; the false pretensions to which had proved so destructive to his credit and fortune: And, at the same time, loth to employ the speculations of so many years to no purpose, by an easy turn, the same arguments he had made use of to advance popery, were full as properly levelled by him against Christianity itself; like the image, which, while it was new and handsome, was worshipped for a saint, and when it came to be

old and broken, was still good enough to make a tolerable devil. And, therefore every reader will observe, that the arguments for popery are much the strongest of any in his book, as I shall further remark when I find them in my way.

There is one circumstance in his title-page, which I take to be not amiss, where he calleth his book, *Part the First*. This is a project to fright away answerers, and make the poor advocates for religion believe, he still keepeth further vengeance in *petto*. It must be allowed, he hath not wholly lost time, while he was of the *Romish* Communion. This very trick he learned from his old father, the pope; whose custom it is to lift up his hand, and threaten to fulminate, when he never meant to shoot his bolts; because the princes of *Christendom* had learned the secret to avoid or despise them. Dr. Hicks knew this very well, and therefore, in his Answer to this *Book of the Rights*, where a *second Part* is threatened, like a rash person, he desperately crieth, *Let it come*. But I, who have too much phlegm to provoke angry wits of his standard, must tell the author; that the doctor plays the wag, as if he were sure, it were all grimace. For my part, I declare, if he writeth a second part, I will not write another answer; or, if I do, it shall be published, before the other part cometh out.

There may have been another motive, although it be hardly credible, both for publishing

ing this work, and threatening a *second part*: It is not soon conceived how far the sense of a man's vanity will transport him. This man must have somewhere heard, that dangerous enemies have been often bribed to silence with money or preferment: And therefore, to shew how formidable he is, he hath published his first essay; and, in hopes of hire to be quiet, hath frightened us with his design of another. What must the clergy do in these unhappy circumstances? If they should bestow this man bread enough to stop his mouth, it will but open those of a hundred more, who are every whit as well qualified to rail as he. And truly, when I compare the former enemies to Christianity, such as *Socinus*, *Hobbes*, and *Spinoza*, with such of their successors, as *Toland*, *Asgil*, *Coward*, *Gildon*, this author of the *Rights*, and some others; the church appeareth to me like the sick old lion in the fable, who, after having his person outraged by the bull, the elephant, the horse, and the bear, took nothing so much to heart, as to find himself at last insulted by the spurn of an ass.

I will now add a few words, to give the reader some general notion of the nature and tendency of the work itself.

I think I may assert, without the least partiality, that it is a treatise wholly devoid of wit or learning, under the most violent and weak endeavours and pretences to both. That it is replenished throughout with bold, rude,

rude, improbable falsehoods, and gross misinterpretations; and supported by the most impudent sophistry and false logic I have any where observed. To this he hath added a paultry, traditional cant of *priest-rid* and *priest-craft*, without reason or pretext as he applieth it. And when he railleth at those doctrines in popery (which no protestant was ever supposed to believe) he leads the reader, however, by the hand to make applications against the *English* clergy; and then he never faileth to triumph, as if he had made a very shrewd and notable stroke. And because the court and kingdom seemeth disposed to moderation with regard to dissenters, more perhaps than is agreeable to the hot unreasonable temper of some mistaken men among us; therefore, under the shelter of that popular opinion, he ridiculeth all that is sound in religion, even Christianity itself, under the names of *Jacobite*, *Tackers*, *High-Church*, and other terms of *factionous jargon*. All which, if it were to be first rased from his book (as just so much of nothing to the purpose), how little would remain to give the trouble of an answer! To which let me add, that the spirit or genius which animates the whole, is plainly perceived to be nothing else but the abortive malice of an old neglected man, who hath long lain under the extremes of obloquy, peverty and contempt; that have soured his temper, and made him fearless. But where is the merit of being bold; to a man that is secure of impunity to his person,

and

and is past apprehension of any thing else? He that has neither reputation nor bread, hath very little to lose, and has therefore as little to fear. And, as it is usually said, *Whoever values not his own life, is master of another man's*; so there is something like it in reputation: He that is wholly lost to all regards of truth or modesty, may scatter so much calumny and scandal, that some part may perhaps be taken up before it fall to the ground; because the ill talent of the world is such, that those who will be at pains enough to inform themselves in a malicious story, will take none at all to be undeceived, nay, will be apt with some reluctance to admit a favourable truth.

To expostulate, therefore, with this author for doing mischief to religion, is to strew his bed with roses; he will reply in triumph, that this was his design; and I am loth to mortify him, by asserting he hath done none at all. For I never yet saw so poor an atheistical scribble, which would not serve as a twig for sinking libertines to catch at. It must be allowed in their behalf, that the faith of Christians is not as a grain of mustard-seed in comparison of theirs, which can remove such mountains of absurdities, and submit with so entire a resignation to such aposties. If these men had any share of that reason they pretend to, they would retire into christianity, meerly to give it ease. And therefore men can never be confirmed in such doctrines,

doctrines, until they are confirmed in their vices; which last, as we have already observed, is the principal design of this and all other writers against revealed religion.

I am now opening the book which I propose to examine. An employment, as it is entirely new to me, so it is that to which, of all others, I have naturally the greatest antipathy. And, indeed, who can dwell upon a tedious piece of insipid thinking, and false reasoning, so long as I am likely to do, without sharing the infection?

But, before I plunge into the depths of the book itself, I must be forced to wade through the shallows of a long preface.

This preface, large as we see it, is only made up of such supernumerary arguments against an independent power in the church, as he could not, without nauseous repetition, scatter into the body of his book: And it is detached, like a forlorn hope, to blunt the enemy's sword that intendeth to attack him. Now, I think, it will be easy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the sense he chargeth it upon the clergy of *England*, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain; and, that their universal sentiment in this matter is such as few protestants did ever dispute. But, if the author of the *Regale*, or two or three more obscure writers, have carried any points further than scripture and reason will allow (which is more than I know, or trouble myself to enquire) the clergy of

England is no more answerable for those, than the laity is for all the folly and impertinence of this treatise. And, therefore, that people may not be amused, or think this man is somewhat, that he hath advanced or defended any oppressed truths, or overthrown any growing dangerous errors, I will set in as clear a light as I can, what I conceive to be held by the established clergy, and all reasonable protestants in this matter.

Every body knoweth and allows, that in government there is an absolute, unlimited, legislative power, which is originally in the body of the people, although by custom, conquest, usurpation, or other accidents, sometimes fallen into the hands of one or a few. This in *England* is placed in the three estates (otherwise called the two houses of parliament) in conjunction with the king. And whatever they please to enact or to repeal in the settled forms, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, immediately becometh law or nullity. Their decrees may be against equity, truth, reason and religion; but they are not against law; because law is the will of the supreme legislature, and that is, themselves. And there is no manner of doubt, but the same authority, whenever it pleaseth, may abolish christianity, and set up the *Jewish*, *Mahometan*, or *Heathen* Religion. In short, they may do any thing within the compass of human power. And, therefore, who will dispute that the same law, which deprived the church not only of lands, mis-

applied

applied to superstitious uses, but even the tythes and glebes (the ancient and necessary support of parish priests), may take away all the rest, whenever the law-givers please, and make the priesthood as primitive, as this writer, or others of his stamp, can desire?

But, as the supreme power can certainly do ten thousand things more than it ought, so there are several things which some people may think it can do, although it really cannot. For it unfortunately happens, that edicts which cannot be executed, will not alter the nature of things. So, if a king and parliament should please to enact, that a woman who hath been a month married, is *virgo intacta*, would that actually restore her to her primitive state? If the supreme power should resolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law or physick, few, I believe, would trust their souls, fortunes, or bodies to his direction; because that power is neither fit to judge or teach those qualifications which are absolutely necessary to the several professions. Put the case, that walking on the slack rope were the only talent required by act of parliament for making a man a bishop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might sit in the House of Lords, put on his robes and his rochet, go down to his palace, receive and spend his rents, but it requireth very little christianity to believe this tumbler to be one whit more a bishop than he was before;

because the law of God hath otherwise decreed; which law, although a nation may refuse to receive, it cannot alter in its own nature.

And here lies the mistake of this superficial man, who is not able to distinguish between what the civil power can hinder, and what it can do. *If the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they must be able to make them, since no greater power is required for one than the other.* See pref. p. viii. This consequence he repeateth above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affecteth to form a few words into the shape and size of a maxim, then trieth it by his ear, and according as he likes the sound or cadence, pronounceth it true. Cannot I stand over a man with a great pole, and hinder him from making a watch, although I am not able to make on emyself? If I have strength enough to knock a man on the head, doth it follow I can raise him to life again? The parliament may condemn all the *Greek* and *Roman* authors; can it therefore create new ones in their stead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon and ecclesiastical laws, and oblige all men to observe them under pain of high treason. And so may I, who love as well as any man to have in my own family the power in the last resort, take a turnip, then tie a string to it, and call it a watch, and turn away all my servants, if they refuse to call it so too.

For

For my own part, I must confess that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raiseth such a dust, is what I never imagined to be of any consequence, never once heard disputed among divines, nor remember to have read, otherwise than as a scheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And I dare believe, there is hardly one divine in ten that ever once thought of this matter. Yet to see a large swelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think less than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the press and the pulpit with nothing else?

I remember some years ago a virtuoso writ a small tract about worms, proved them to be in more places than was generally observed, and made some discoveries by glasses. This having met with some reception, presently the poor man's head was full of nothing but worms; all we eat and drink, all the whole consistence of human bodies, and those of every other animal, the very air we breathed; in short, all nature throughout was nothing but worms: And, by that system, he solved all difficulties, and from thence all causes in philosophy. Thus it hath fared with our author, and his independent power. The attack against occasional conformity, the scarcity of coffee, the invasion of Scotland, the loss of kerseys and narrow cloaths, the death of king *William*, the author's turning

papist for preferment, the loss of the battle of *Almanza*, with ten thousand other misfortunes, are all owing to this *imperium in imperio*.

It will be therefore necessary to set this matter in a clear light, by enquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the christian religion was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magistrates and senates were fully instructed in the rudiments of it. Besides, the christians were so numerous, and their worship so open before the conversion of princes, that their discipline, as well as doctrine, could not be a secret: They saw plainly a subordination of ecclesiastics, bishops, priests, and deacons: That these had certain powers and employments different from the laity: That the bishops were consecrated, and set apart for that office by those of their own order: That the presbyters and deacons were differently set apart, always by the bishops: That none but the ecclesiastics presumed to pray or preach in places set apart for God's worship, or to administer the Lord's Supper: That all questions relating either to discipline or doctrine, were determined in ecclesiastical conventions. These and the like doctrines and practices, being most of them directly proved, and the rest by very fair consequences deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apostles, were certainly received as a divine law by every prince or
state

state which admitted the christian religion: and, consequently, what they could not justly alter afterwards, any more than the common laws of nature. And, therefore, although the supreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old; from consecrating bishops, or refuse those they do consecrate; or, in short, from performing any ecclesiastical office, as they may from eating, drinking, and sleeping; yet they cannot themselves perform those offices, which are assigned to the clergy by our Saviour and his apostles; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine institution, and, consequently, null and void. Our Saviour telleth us, *His kingdom is not of this world*; and therefore, to be sure, the world is not of his kingdom, nor can ever please him by interfering in the administration of it, since he hath appointed ministers of his own, and hath impowered and instructed them for that purpose: So that, I believe, the clergy, who, as he saith, *are good at distinguishing*, would think it reasonable to distinguish between their power, and the liberty of exercising this power. The former they claim immediately from Christ, and the latter from the permission, connivance, or authority of the civil government; with which the clergy's power, according to the solution I have given, cannot possibly interfere.

But this writer, setting up to form a system upon stale, scanty topics, and a narrow

circle of thought, falleth into a thousand absurdities. And for a further help, he hath a talent of rattling out phrases, which seem to have sense, but have none at all: the usual fate of those who are ignorant of the force and compass of words, without which it is impossible for a man to write either pertinently or intelligibly upon the most obvious subjects.

So, in the beginning of his preface, page iv. he says, *The church of England being established by acts of parliament, is a perfect creature of the civil power; I mean the polity and discipline of it, and it is that which maketh all the contention; for as to the doctrines expressed in the articles, I do not find high church to be in any manner of pain; but they who lay claim to most orthodoxy can distinguish themselves out of them.* It is observable in this author, that his stile is naturally harsh and ungrateful to the ear, and his expressions mean and trivial; but whenever he goeth about to polish a period, you may be certain of some gross defect in propriety or meaning: So the lines just quoted seem to run easily over the tongue; and, upon examination, they are perfect nonsense and blunder: To speak in his own borrowed phrase, what is contained in the idea of *established*? Surely, not existence. Doth *establishment* give *being* to a thing? He might have said the same thing of christianity in general, or the existence of God, since both are confirmed by acts of parliament. But,
the

the best is behind : For, in the next line, having named the church half a dozen times before, he now says, he meaneth only *the policy and discipline of it* : As if, having spoke in praise of the art of physic, a man should explain himself, that he meant only the institution of a college of physicians into a president and fellows. And it will appear, that this author, however versed in the practice, hath grossly transgressed the rules of nonsense, (whose property it is neither to affirm nor deny) since every visible assertion gathered from those few lines is absolutely false : For where was the necessity of excepting the doctrines expressed in the articles, since these are equally creatures of the civil power, having been established by acts of parliament as well as the others. But the church of *England* is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity or doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Christ and his apostles, and the instructions of the purest and earliest ages, and were received as such by those princes or states who embraced christianity, whatever prudential additions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be justly altered or annulled by them.

What I have already said, would, I think, be a sufficient answer to his whole preface, and indeed to the greatest part of his book, which is wholly turned upon battering down a sort of independent power in the clergy ; which few or none of them ever claimed or

defended. But there being certain peculiarities in this preface, that very much set off the wit, the learning, the raillery, reasoning and sincerity of the author ; I shall take notice of some of them, as I pass. —

But here I hope, it will not be expected, that I should bestow remarks upon every passage in this book, that is liable to exception for ignorance, falshood, dulness, or malice. Where he is so insipid, that nothing can be struck out for the reader's entertainment, I shall observe *Horace's* rule :

Quæ desperes tractata nitescere posse, relinques.
Upon which account I shall say nothing of that great instance of his candour and judgment in relation to Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, who (happening to lie under his displeasure upon the fatal test of *imperium in imperio*) is *High-Church* and *Jacobite*, took the oaths of allegiance to save him from the gallows [e], subscribed the articles only to keep his preferment : Whereas the character of that prelate is universally known to have been directly the reverse of what this writer gives him.

[e] Page c. He quotes bishop *Stillingsfleet's* vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, where the bishop says, that a man might be very right in the belief of an article, though mistaken in the explication of it. Upon which *Tindal* observes : *These men treat the articles, as they do the oath of allegiance, which, they say, obliges them not actually to assist the government, but to do nothing against it ; that is, nothing that would bring him to the gallows.* Eus

But before he can attempt to ruin this damnable opinion of two independent powers, he telleth us ; page 6. *It will be necessary to shew what is contained in the idea of government.* Now, it is to be understood, that this refined way of speaking was introduced by Mr. Locke : After whom the author limpeth as fast as he is able. All the former philosophers in the world, from the age of *Socrates* to ours, would have ignorantly put the question, *Quid est imperium ?* But now it seemeth we must vary our phrase ; and, since our modern improvement of human understanding, instead of desiring a philosopher to describe or define a mouse-trap, or tell me what it is ; I must gravely ask, what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap ? But then to observe how deeply this new way of putting questions to a man's self, maketh him enter into the nature of things ; his present business is to shew us, what is contained in the idea of government. The company knoweth nothing of the matter, and would gladly be instructed ; which he doth in the following words, p. vi.

It would be in vain for one intelligent being to pretend to set rules to the actions of another, if he had it not in his power to reward the compliance with, or punish the deviations from, his rules by some good, or evil, which is not the natural consequence of those actions ; since the forbidding men to do or forbear an action on the account of that convenience or inconvenience which attendeth it, whether

he who forbids it will or no, can be no more than advice.

I shall not often draw such long quotations as this, which I could not forbear to offer as a specimen of the propriety and perspicuity of this author's style. And, indeed, what a light breaketh out upon us all, as soon as we have read these words ! How thoroughly are we instructed in the whole nature of government ! What mighty truths are here discovered ; and how clearly conveyed to our understandings ! And therefore let us melt this refined jargon into the *Old Style* for the improvement of such, who are not enough conversant in the *New*.

If the author were one who used to talk like one of us, he would have spoke in this manner : I think it necessary to give a full and perfect definition of government, such as will shew the nature and all the properties of it ; and my definition is thus : One man will never cure another of stealing horses, merely by minding him of the pains he hath taken, the cold he hath got, and the shoe-leather he hath lost, in stealing that horse ; nay, to warn him, that the horse may kick or sling him, or cost him more than he is worth in hay and oats, can be no more than advice. For the gallows is not the natural effect of robbing on the high-way, as heat is of fire : and therefore, if you will govern a man, you must find out some other way of punishment, than what he will inflict upon himself.

Or,

Or, if this will not do, let us try it in another case (which I instanced before) and in his own terms. Suppose he had thought it necessary (and I think it was as much so as the other) to shew us what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap, he must have proceeded in these terms. It would be in vain for an intelligent Being, to set rules for hindering a mouse from eating his cheese, unless he can inflict upon that mouse some punishment, which is not the natural consequence of eating cheese. For, to tell her, it may lie heavy on her stomach; that she will grow too big to get back into her hole, and the like, can be no more than advice: therefore, we must find out some way of punishing her, which hath more inconveniencies than she will ever suffer by the mere eating of cheese. After this, who is so slow of understanding, as not to have in his mind a full and compleat idea of a mouse trap? Well.—The Freethinkers may talk what they please of pedantry, and cant, and jargon of school-men, and insignificant terms in the writings of the clergy, if ever the most perplexed and perplexing follower of *Aristotle* from *Scotus* to *Suarez* could be a match for this author.

But the strength of his arguments is equal to the clearness of his definitions. For, having most ignorantly divided government into three parts, whereof the first contains the other two; he attempteth to prove that the clergy possess none of these by a divine right.

right. And he argueth thus, p. vii. *As to a legislative Power, if that belongs to the Clergy by divine right, it must be when they are assembled in Convocation: but the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. is a bar to any such divine right, because that Act makes it no less than a præmunire for them, so much as to meet without the king's writ, &c.* So that the force of his argument lieth here; if the Clergy had a divine right, it is taken away by the 25th of Henry the VIIIth. And as ridiculous as this argument is, the preface and book are founded upon it..

Another argument against the legislative power in the clergy of *England*, is, p. viii. that *Tacitus* telleth us, that in great affairs, the *Germans* consulted the whole body of the people. *De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes: Ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est apud principes pertractentur.* *Tacitus de moribus & populis Germaniæ.* Upon, which, *Tindall* observeth thus: *De majoribus omnes*, was a fundamental amongst our ancestors long before they arrived in *Great-Britain*, and matters of Religion were ever reckoned among their *Majora* (See Pref. p. viii. and ix.) Now it is plain, that our ancestors, the *Saxons*, came from *Germany*: It is likewise plain, that religion was always reckoned by the Heathens among their *Majora*: And it is plain, the whole body of the people could not be the clergy, and therefore, the clergy of *England* have no legislative power.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, p. ix. They have no legislative power, because Mr. *Washington*, in his *Observations on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the kings of England*, sheweth from undeniable authorities, that in the time of William the Conqueror, and several of his successors, there were no laws enacted concerning religion, but by the great Council of the kingdom. I hope likewise, Mr. *Washington* observeth, that this great council of the kingdom, as appeareth by undeniable authorities, was sometimes entirely composed of bishops and clergy, and called the parliament, and often consulted upon affairs of state, as well as church, as it is agreed by twenty writers of three ages; and if Mr. *Washington* says otherwise, he is an author just fit to be quoted by *Ecaux*.

Fourthly, — But it is endless to pursue this matter any further; in that, it is plain, the clergy have no divine right to make laws; because *Hen. VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth*, with their parliaments will, not allow it them. Now, without examining what divine right the clergy have, or how far it extendeth; is it any sort of proof that I have no right, because a stronger power will not let me exercise it? Or, doth all, that this author says through his preface, or book itself, offer any other sort of argument but this, or what he deduces the same way?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more supportable than the grossness of his-
torical remarks, which are scattered so plentifully

tifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to shew the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here just in my way; and, the rather, because I design for the future to let hundreds of them pass without further notice. *When*, says he, p. x. *by the abolishing of the Pope's power, things were brought back to their antient channel, the parliament's right in making ecclesiastical laws revived of course.* What can possibly be meant by this *antient channel*? Why, the channel that things ran in before the Pope had any power in *England*: that is to say, before *Austin* the monk converted *England*, before which time, it seems, the parliament had a right to make ecclesiastical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons met at *Westminster*.

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of some lawyers, whose opinions this poor creature blindly followeth, and rendereth yet more absurd by his comments. The knowledge of our constitution can be only attained by consulting the earliest *English* histories, of which those gentlemen seem utterly ignorant, further than a quotation or an index. They would fain derive our government, as now constituted, from antiquity: And, because they have seen *Tacitus* quoted for his *Majoribus omnes*; and have read of the *Goths* military institution in their progresses and conquests

quests, they presently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached so far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from *Aristotle* and *Polybius*, who both distinctly name the composition of *Rex, Seniores, et Populus*; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the highest approbation. The princes in the *Saxon* Hierarchy, did indeed call their nobles sometimes together upon weighty affairs, as most other princes of the world have done in all ages. But they made war and peace, and raised money by their own authority: They gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raised armies by their tenures. Besides, some of those kingdoms fell in by conquest, before *England* was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend no rights, but by the concessions of the conqueror.

Further, which is more material, upon the admission of christianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, so that the great council of the nation was often entirely of churchmen, and ever a considerable part. But our present constitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond *Henry I.* Since which time it hath in every age admitted several alterations; and differeth now as much, even from what it was then, as almost any two species of government described by *Aristotle*. And it would be much more reasonable to affirm, that the government

ment of *Rome* continued the same under *Justinian* as it was in the time of *Scipio*, because the senate and consuls still remained, although the power of both had been several hundred years transferred to the emperors.

REMARKS on the PREFACE.

Page iv, v. *I F men of opposite sentiments can subscribe the same articles, they are as much at liberty as if there were none.* May not a man subscribe the whole articles, because he differs from another in the explication of one? How many oaths are prescribed, that men may differ in the explication of some part of them? Instance, &c.

Page vi. *Idea of Government.* A canting pedantic way, learned from *Locke*; and how prettily he sheweth it. Instance—

Page vii. 25 *Hen. VIII. c. 19. is a bar to any such divine Right [of a legislative power in the Clergy].* Absurd to argue against the clergy's divine right, because of the statute of *Henry VIII.* How doth that destroy divine right? The sottish way of arguing; from what the parliament can do; from their power, &c.

Page viii. *If the parliament did not think they had a plenitude of power in this matter, they would not have damned all the Canons of 1640.* What doth he mean? A grave divine could not answer all his play-house
and

and *Alfatia* cant, &c. He hath read *Hudibras*, and many Plays.

Ibid. If the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they must be able to make them. Distinguish and thew the silliness, &c.

Ibid. All that he saith against the discipline, he might say the same against the doctrine, nay, against the belief of a God, viz. That the legislature might forbid it. The church formeth and contriveth canons; and the civil power, which is compulsive, confirms them.

Page ix. *There were no Laws enacted but by the great council of the kingdom.* And that was very often, chiefly, only bishops.

Ibid. *Laws settled by parliament to punish the clergy.* What laws were those?

Page x. *The people are bound to no laws but of their own chusing.* It is fraudulent; for they may consent to what others chuse, and so people often do.

Page xiv. paragraph 6. *The clergy are not supposed to have any divine legislature, because that must be superior to all worldly power; and the clergy might as well forbid the parliament to meet but when and where they please, &c.* No such consequence at all. They have a power exclusive from all others. Ordained to act as clergy, but not govern in civil affairs; nor act without leave of the civil power.

Page xxv. *The Parliament suspected the love of power natural to churchmen.* Truly, so is the love of pudding, and most other things

things desirable in this life; and in that they are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And, therefore, they are held not in esteem for what they are like in, but for their virtues. The true way to abuse them with effect, is to tell us some faults of their's, that other men have not, or not so much of as they, &c. Might not any man speak full as bad of senates, diets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes, as he doth of bishops?

Page xxxi. *They might as well have made cardinals Campegi and de Chinuchii, bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, as have enacted that their several sees and bishopricks were utterly void.* No. The legislature might determine who should not be a bishop there, but not make a bishop.

Ibid. *Were not a great number deprived by Parliament upon the restoration? Does he mean Presbyters? What signifies that?*

Ibid. *Have they not trusted this power with our princes? Why, aye.* But that argueth not right, but power. Have they not cut off a king's head, &c. The church must do the best they can, if not what they would.

Page xxxvi. *If tythes and first-fruits are paid to spiritual persons as such, the King or Queen is the most spiritual person, &c.* As if the first-fruits, &c. were paid to the king, as tythes to a spiritual person.

Page

Page xliii. *King Charles II. thought fit that the bishops in Scotland should hold their bishopricks during will and pleasure; I do not find that high church complained of this as an encroachment, &c. No; but as a pernicious counsel of lord Loch.*

Page xliv. *The common Law Judges have a power to determine, whether a man has a legal right to the Sacrament. They pretend it, but what we complain of as a most abominable hardship, &c.*

Page xlv. *Giving men thus blindly to the Devil, is an extraordinary piece of complaisance to a lay-chancellor. He is something in the right; and therefore it is a pity there are any; and I hope the church will provide against it. But if the sentence be just, it is not the person, but the contempt. And, if the author attacketh a man on the highway, and taketh but twopence, he shall be sent to the gallows, more terrible to him than the Devil, for his contempt of the law, &c. Therefore he need not complain of being sent to hell.*

Page lxiv. *Mr. Lestly may carry things too far, as it is natural, because the other extreme is so great. But what he says of the king's losses, since the church lands were given away, is too great a truth, &c.*

Page lxxvi. *To which I have nothing to plead, except the zeal I have for the church of England. You will see some pages further, what he meaneth by the church; but it*

it is not fair not to begin with telling us what is contained in the idea of a church, &c.

Page lxxxiii. *They will not be angry with me for thinking better of the church than they do, &c.* No, but they will differ from you ; because the worse the queen is pleased, you think her better. I believe the church will not concern themselves much about your opinion of them, &c.

Page lxxxiv. *But the Popish, Eastern, Presbyterian and Jacobite Clergy, &c.* This is like a general pardon, with such exceptions as make it useless, if we compute it, &c.

Page lxxxvii. *Misapplying of the word Church, &c.* This is cavilling. No doubt his project is for exempting the people : But that is not what in common speech we usually mean by the church. Besides, who doth not know that distinction ?

Ibid. Constantly apply the same ideas to them. This is, in old English, meaning the same thing.

Page lxxxix. *Demonstrates I could have no design but the promoting of truth, &c.* Yes, several designs, as money, spleen, atheism, &c. What ? will any man think truth was his design, and not money and malice ? Doth he expect the house will go into a committee for a bill to bring things to his scheme, to confound every thing, &c.

Some deny *Tindall* to be the author, and produce stones of his dullness and stupidity. But what is there in all this book, that the dullest

dullest man in *England* might not write, if he were angry and bold enough, and had no regard to truth ?

REMARKS upon the BOOK, &c.

Page 4. *WHETHER* Louis XIV. has such a power over Philip V ? He speaketh here of the unlimited, uncontrollable authority of fathers. A very foolish question ; and his discourse hitherto, of government, weak and trivial, and liable to objections.

Ibid. Whom he is to consider not as his own, but the Almighty's workmanship. A very likely consideration for the ideas of the state of nature. A very wrong deduction of paternal government ; but that is nothing to the dispute, &c.

Page 12. And as such might justly be punished by every one in the state of nature. False ; he doth not seem to understand the state of nature, although he hath borrowed it from *Hobbes*, &c.

Page 14. Merely speculative points, and other indifferent things, &c. And why are speculative opinions so insignificant ? Do not men proceed in their practice according to their speculations ? So, if the author were a chancellor, and one of his speculations were, that the poorer the clergy the better ; would not that be of great use, if a cause came before him of tythes or church-lands ?

Ibid.

Ibid. Which can only be known by examining whether men had any power in the state of nature over their own, or others actions in these matters. No, that is a wrong method, unless where religion hath not been revealed ; in natural religion.

Ibid. Nothing at first sight can be more obvious, than that, in all religious matters, none could make over the right of judging for himself, since that would cause his religion to be absolutely at the disposal of another. At his rate of arguing (I think I do not misrepresent him, and I believe he will not deny the consequence) a man may profess heathenism, mahometanism, &c. and gain as many proselytes as he can ; and they may have their assemblies, and the magistrate ought to protect them, provided they do not disturb the state : And they may enjoy all secular preferments, be lords chancellors, judges, &c. But there are some opinions in several religions, which, although they do not directly make men rebel, yet lead to it. Instance some. Nay we might have temples for idols, &c. A thousand such absurdities follow from his general notions, and ill-digested schemes. And we see in the Old Testament, that kings were reckoned good or ill, as they suffered or hindered image worship and idolatry, &c. which was limiting conscience.

Page 15. Men may form what clubs, companies, or meetings they think fit, &c. which the magistrate, as long as the publick sustains no damage, cannot hinder, &c. This is false ;
although

although the publick sustain no damage, they will forbid clubs, where they think danger may happen.

Page 6. *The magistrate is as much obliged to protect them in the way they chuse of worshiping him, as in any other indifferent matter.*

—Page 17. *The magistrate to treat all his subjects alike, how much soever they differ from him or one another in these matters.* This shews, that although they be *Turks, Jews,* or *Heathens*, it is so. But we are sure christianity is the only true religion, &c. and therefore it should be the magistrate's chief care to propagate it; and that God should be worshiped in that form, that those who are the teachers think most proper, &c.

Page 18. *So that persecution is the most comprehensive of all crimes, &c.* But he hath not told us what is included in the idea of persecution. State it right.

Ibid. But here it may be demanded, if a man's conscience make him do such acts, &c. This doth not answer the above objection: For, if the public be not disturbed with atheistical principles preached, nor immoralities, all is well. So that still, men may be *Jews, Turks, &c.*

Page 22. *The same reason which obliges them to make statutes of mortmain, and other laws, against the people's giving estates to the clergy, will equally hold for their taking them away when given. A great security for property! Will this hold to any other society in a state, as merchants, &c. or only to ecclesiasticks?*

G

A pretty

A pretty project: Forming general schemes requires a deeper head than this man's.

Ibid. But the good of the society being the only reason of the magistrate's having any power over men's properties, I cannot see why he should deprive his subjects of any part thereof, for the maintenance of such opinions as have no tendency that way, &c. Here is a paragraph (*vide also infra*) which has a great deal in it. The meaning is, that no man ought to pay tythes, who doth not believe what the minister preacheth. But how came they by this property? When they purchased the land, they paid only for so much; and the tythes were exempted. It is an older title than any man's estate is, and if it were taken away to-morrow, it could not without a new law belong to the owners of the other nine parts, any more than impropriations do.

Ibid. For the maintenance of such opinions, as no ways contribute to the publick good. By such opinions as the publick receive no advantage by, he must mean christianity.

Page 23. *Who by reason of such articles are divided into different sects.* A pretty cause of sects! &c.

Page 24. *So the same reason, as often as it occurs, will oblige him to leave that church.* That is an excuse for turning papist.

Ibid. Unless you suppose churches, like traps, easy to admit, one; but when once he is in, there he must always stick, either for the pleasure or profit of the trap-setters. Remark his wit.

Page

Page 29. *Nothing can be more absurd than maintaining there must be two independent powers in the same society, &c.* This abominably absurd; shew it.

Page 33. *The whole hierarchy as built on it, must necessarily fall to the ground, and great will be the fall of this spiritual Babylon.* I will do him justice, and take notice, when he is witty, &c.

Page 36. *For if there may be two such [independent powers] in every Society on Earth, why may there not be more than one in Heaven? A delicate consequence.*

Page 37. *Without having the less, he could not have the greater, in which that is contained.* Sophistical; instance wherein.

Page 42. *Some since, subtler than the Jews, have managed commutations more to their own advantage, by enriching themselves, and beggaring, if Fame be not a liar, many an honest dissenter.* It is fair to produce witnesses; is she a liar or not? The report is almost impossible. Commutations were contrived for roguish registers and proctors, and lay-chancellors, but not for the clergy.

Page 43. *Kings and people, who (as the Indians do the Devil) adored the Pope out of fear.* I am in doubt, whether I shall allow that for wit or no, &c. Look you, in these cases, preface it thus: If one may use an old saying.

Page 44. *One reason why the clergy make what they call schism, to be so heinous a sin.* There it is now; because he hath changed

churches, he ridiculeth schism; as *Milton* wrote for divorces, because he had an ill wife? For ten pages on, we must give the true answer, that makes all these arguments of no use.

Page 60. *It possibly will be said, I have all this while been doing these gentlemen a great deal of wrong.* To do him justice, he sets forth the objections of his adversaries with great strength, and much to their advantage. No doubt those are the very objections we would offer.

Page 68. *Their executioner.* He is fond of this word in many places, yet there is nothing in it further than it is the name for the hangman, &c.

Page 69. *Since they exclude both from having any thing in the ordering of church matters.* Another part of his scheme: For by this the people ought to execute ecclesiastical offices without distinction, for he brings the other opinion as an absurd one.

Page 72. *They claim a judicial power, and, by virtue of it, the government of the church, and thereby (pardon the expression) become traitors both to God and Man.* Who doth he desire to pardon him? or is this meant of the *English* clergy? so it seemeth. Doth he desire them to pardon him? they do it as christians. Doth he desire the government to do it? but then how can they make examples? He says, the clergy do so, &c. so he means all.

Page 74. *I would gladly know what they mean by giving the Holy Ghost.* Explain what
is

is really meant by giving the Holy Ghost, like a king empowering an ambassador [b].

Page 76. *The popish clergy make very bold with the three persons of the Trinity.* Why then, don't mix them, but we see whom this glanceth on most. As to the *Congé d'Elire*, and *Nolo episcopare*, not so absurd; and if omitted, why changed?

Page 78. *But not to digress*—Pray, doth he call scurrility upon the clergy, a digression? The apology needless, &c.

Ibid. *A clergyman, it is said, is God's ambassador.* But you know an ambassador may leave a secretary, &c.

Ibid. *Call their pulpit speeches, the word of God.* That is a mistake.

Page 79. *Such persons to represent him.* Are not they that own his power, fitter to represent him than others? Would the author be a fitter person?

Ibid. *Puff up with intolerable pride and insolence.* Not at all; for where is the pride to be employed by a prince, whom so few own, and whose being is disputed by such as this author.

Ibid. *Perhaps from a poor servitor, &c. to be a prime minister in God's kingdom.* That is right. God taketh notice of the difference between poor servitors, &c. Extremely foolish—shew it. The argument lieth strongly against the apostles, poor fishermen; and St. Paul, a tent-maker. So gross and idle!

[b] See Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Book v. § 77.

Page 80. *The formality of laying hand over head on a man.* A pun; but an old one. I remember, when *Swan* made that pun first, he was severely checked for it.

Ibid. *What is more required to give one a right, &c.* Here shew, what power is in the church, and what in the state, to make priests.

Page 85. *To bring men into, and not turn them out of, the ordinary way of salvation.* Yes; but as one rotten sheep doth mischief—and do you think it reasonable, that such a one as this author, should converse with christians, and weak ones.

Page 86. See his fine account of spiritual Punishment.

Page 87. *The clergy affirm, that if they had not the power to exclude men from the church, its unity could not be preserved.* So to expel an ill member from a college, would be the way to divide the college; as in *All-Souls*, &c. Apply it to him.

Page 88. *I cannot see but it is contrary to the rules of charity, to exclude men from the church, &c.* All this turns upon the falsest reasoning in the world. So, if a man be imprisoned for stealing a horse, he is hindered from other duties: And, you might argue, that a man who doth ill, ought to be more diligent in minding other duties, and not to be debarred from them. It is for contumacy and rebellion against that power in the church, which the law hath confirmed. So a man is outlawed for a trifle, upon contumacy.

Page 92. *Obliging all by penal laws to receive the Sacrament.* This is false.

Page 93. *The want of which means can only harden a man in his impenitence.* It is for his being hardened that he is excluded. Suppose a son robbeth his father in the highway, and his father will not see him till he restoreth the money and owneth his fault. It is hard to deny him paying his duty in other things, &c. How absurd this!

Page 95. *And that only they had a right to give it.* Another part of his scheme, that the people have a right to give the sacrament. See more of it. p. 135 and 137.

Page 96. *Made familiar to such practices by the Heathen priests.* Well; and this shews the necessity of it for peace sake. A silly objection of this and other enemies to religion, to think to disgrace it by applying heathenism, which only concerns the political part wherein they were as wise as others, and might give rules. Instance in some, &c.

Page 98. *How differently from this do the great pretenders to primitive practice act, &c.* This a remarkable passage. Doth he condemn or allow this mysterious way? It seems the first—and therefore these words are a little turned, but infallibly stood in the first draught as a great argument for *popery*.

Page 100. *They dress them up in a San-benito.* So, now we are to answer for the Inquisition. One thing is, that he makes the fathers guilty of asserting most of the corruptions about the power of priests.

Page 104. *Some priests assume to themselves an arbitrary power of excluding men from the Lord's Supper.* His scheme; that any body may administer the sacraments, women or children, &c.

Page 108. *One no more than another can be reckoned a priest.* See his scheme. Here he disgraces what the law enacts, about the manner of consecrating, &c.

Page 118. *Churches serve to worse purposes than bear-gardens.* This from *Hudibras*.

Page 119. *In the time of that wise Heathen Ammianus Marcellinus.* Here he runs down all christianity in general.

Page 120. *I shall, in the following part of my discourse, shew that this doctrine is so far from serving the ends of religion, that, 1. It prevents the spreading of the gospel, &c.* This independent power in the church is like the worms; being the cause of all diseases.

Page 124. *How easily could the Roman emperors have destroyed the church!* Just as if he had said; How easily could *Herod* kill *Christ* whilst a child, &c.

Page 125. *The people were set against bishops by reason of their tyranny.* Wrong. For the bishops were no tyrants: Their power was swallowed up by the popes, and the people desired they should have more. It were the regulars that tyrannized and formed priestcraft. He is ignorant.

Page 139. *He is not bound by the laws of Christ to leave his friends in order to be baptized, &c.* This directly against the Gospel.
—One

—One would think him an emissary, by his preaching schism.

Page 142. *Then will the communion of saints be practicable, to which the principles of all parties, the occasional Conformists only excepted, stand in direct opposition, &c.* So that all are wrong but they. The scripture is fully against schism. Tindall promoteth it, and placeth in it all the present and future happiness of man.

Page 144. All he has hitherto said on this matter, with a very little turn, were arguments for popery: For, it is certain, that religion had a share in very few wars for many hundred years before the reformation, because they were all of a mind. It is the ambition of rebels, practising upon the discontents of sectaries, that they are not supreme, which hath caused wars for religion. He is mistaken altogether. His little narrow understanding and want of learning.

Page 145. *Though some say the high-flyers' lives might serve for a very good rule, if men would act quite contrary to them.* Is he one of those Some? Besides the new turn of wit, &c. all the clergy in England come under his notion of high-flyers, as he states it.

Page 147. *None of them (Churchmen) could be brought to acknowledge it lawful, upon any account whatever, to exclude the duke of York.* This account false in fact.

Ibid. *And the body politic, whether ecclesiastical or civil, must be dealt with after the same manner, as the body natural.* What, because

because it is called a body, and is a simile, must it hold in all circumstances?

Page 148. *We find all wise legislators have had regard to the tempers, inclinations, and prejudices, &c.* This paragraph false.—It was directly contrary in several, as *Lycurgus*, &c.

Page 152. *All the skill of the prelates is not able to discover the least distinction between bishop and presbyter.* Yet, God knows, this hath been done many a time.

Page 158. *The epistle to the Philippians is directed to the bishops and deacons, I mean in due order after the people, viz. to the saints with their bishops and deacons.* I hope he would argue from another place, that the people precede the king, because of these words: *Ye shall be destroyed both you and your king.*

Page 167. *The pope and other great church dons.* I suppose, he meaneth bishops: But I wish, he would explain himself, and not be so very witty in the midst of an argument; it is like two mediums; not fair in disputing.

Page 168. *Clemens Romanus blames the people not for assuming a power, but for making a wrong use of it, &c.* His great error all along is, that he doth not distinguish between a power, and a liberty of exercising that power, &c. I would appeal to any man, whether the clergy have not too little power, since a book like his, that unsettleth foundations and would destroy all, goes unpunished, &c.

Page 171. *By this or some such method the bishops obtained their power over their fellow presbyters, and both over the people.* The whole

whole tenor of the gospel directly contrary to it. Then it is not an allowable means : This carries it so far as to spoil his own system ; it is a sin to have bishops as we have them.

Page 172. *The preservation of peace and unity, and not any divine right, was the reason of establishing a superiority of one of the presbyters over the rest. Otherwise there would, as they say, have been as many schismatics as presbyters. No great compliment to the clergy of those days. Why so ? It is the natural effect of a worse independency, which he keepeth such a clatter about ; an independency of churches on each other, which must naturally create schism.*

Page 183. *How could the christians have asserted the disinterestedness of those who first preached the gospel, particularly their having a right to the tenth part ?* Yes, that would have passed easy enough ; for they could not imagine teachers could live on air ; and their heathen priests were much more unreasonable.

Page 184. *Mens suffering for such opinions is not sufficient to support the weight of them.* This is a glance against christianity. State the case of converting infidels ; the converters are supposed few ; the bulk of the priests must be of the converted country. It is their own people therefore they maintain. What project or end can a few converters propose ? they can leave no power to their families, &c. State this, I say, at length, and give it a true turn. Princes give corporations power to purchase lands.

Page 187. *That it became an easy prey to the barbarous nations.* Ignorance in Tindall. The empire long declined before christianity was introduced. This a wrong cause, if ever there was one.

Page 190. *It is the clergy's interest to have religion corrupted.* Quite the contrary; prove it. How is it the interest of the *English* clergy to corrupt religion? The more justice and piety the people have, the better it is for them; for that would prevent the penury of farmers, and the oppression of exacting covetous landlords, &c. That which hath corrupted religion, is the liberty unlimited of professing all opinions. Do not lawyers render law intricate by their speculations, &c. And physicians, &c.

Page 209. *The spirit and temper of the clergy, &c.* What does this man think the clergy are made of? Answer generally to what he says against councils in the ten pages before. Suppose I should bring quotations in their praise.

Page 211. *As the clergy, though few in comparison of the laity, were the inventors of corruptions.* His scheme is, that the fewer and poorer the clergy the better, and the contrary among the laity. A noble principle; and delicate consequences from it.

Page 207. *Men are not always condemned for the sake of opinions, but opinions sometimes for the sake of men.* And so, he hopes, that, if his opinions are condemned, people will think,

think, it is a spite against him, as having been always scandalous.

Page 210. *The meanest layman as good a judge as the greatest priest, for the meanest man is as much interested in the truth of religion as the greatest priest.* As if one should say, the meanest sick man hath as much interest in health as a physician, therefore is as good a judge of physick as a physician, &c.

Ibid. *Had synods been composed of laymen, none of those corruptions which tend to advance the interest of the clergy, &c.* True. But the part the laity had in reforming, was little more than plundering. He should understand, that the nature of things is this, that the clergy are made of men, and, without some encouragement, they will not have the best, but the worst.

Page 215. *They who gave estates to, rather than they who took them from, the clergy, were guilty of sacrilege.* Then the people are the church, and the clergy not; another part of his scheme.

Page 219. *The clergy as they subsisted by the alms of the people, &c.* This he would have still. Shew the folly of it. Not possible to shew any civilized nation ever did it. Who would be clergymen then? The absurdity appears by putting the case, that none were to be statesmen, lawyers, or physicians, but who were to subsist by alms.

Page 222. *These subtle clergymen work their designs, who lately cut out such a tacking-*
VOL. XIII. H job

job for them, &c. He is mistaken—Every body was for the bill almost; though not for the tack. The bishop of *Sarum* was for it, as appears by his speech against it. But it seems, the tacking is owing to metaphysical speculations. I wonder whether is most perplexed, this author in his stile, or the writings of our divines. In the judgment of all people our divines have carried practical preaching and writing to the greatest perfection it ever arrived to; which shews, that we may affirm in general, our clergy is excellent, although this or that man be faulty. As if an army be constantly victorious, regular, &c. we may say, it is an excellent victorious army: But *Tindall* to disparage it, would say, such a serjeant ran away; such an ensign hid himself in a ditch; nay, one colonel turned his back, therefore, it is a corrupt, cowardly army, &c.

Page 224. *They were as apprehensive of the works of Aristotle, as some men are of the works of a late philosopher, which, they are afraid, will let too much light into the world.* Yet just such another; only a commentator on *Aristotle*. People are likely to improve their understanding much with *Locke*: It is not the *human understanding*, but other works that people dislike, although in that there are some dangerous tenets, as that of [no] innate ideas.

Page 226. *Could they, like the popish priests, add to this a restraint on the press, their business would be done.* So it ought: For example,

ample, to hinder his book, because it is written to justify the vices and infidelity of the age. There can be no other design in it. For, is this a way or manner to do good? Railing doth but provoke. The opinion of the whole parliament is, the clergy are too poor.

Ibid. When some nations could be no longer kept from prying into learning, this miserable gibberish of the schools was contrived. We have exploded schoolmen as much as he, and in some peoples opinion too much, since the liberty of embracing any opinion is allowed. They following *Aristotle*, who is doubtless the greatest master of arguing in the world: But it hath been a fashion of late years to explode *Aristotle*, and therefore this man hath fallen into it like others, for that reason, without understanding him. *Aristotle's* poetry, rhetorick, and politicks, are admirable, and therefore, it is likely, so are his logicks.

Page 230. In these freer countries, as the clergy have less power, so religion is better understood, and more useful and excellent discourses are made on that subject, &c. Not generally. *Holland* not very famous, *Spain* hath been, and *France* is. But it requireth more knowledge, than his, to form general rules, which people strain (when ignorant) to false deductions to make them out.

Page 232. Chap. VII. That this hypothesis of an Independent power in any set of clergymen, makes all reformation unlawful, except where

those who have this power, do consent. The title of this chapter, A Truism. .

Page 234. *If God has not placed mankind in respect to civil matters under an absolute power, but has permitted them in every society to act as they judge best for their own safety, &c.* Bad parallels; bad politicks; want of due distinction between teaching and government. The people may know when they are governed well, but not be wiser than their instructors. Shew the difference.

Ibid. *If God has allowed the civil society these privileges, can we suppose he hath less kindness for his church, &c.* Here they are distinguished then, here it makes for him. It is a sort of turn of expression, which is scarce with him, and he contradicts himself to follow it.

Page 235. *This cursed hypothesis bad, perhaps, never been thought on with relation to civils, had not the Clergy (who have an inexhaustible magazine of oppressive doctrines) contrived first in ecclesiasticals, &c.* The seventh paragraph furious and false. Were there no tyrants before the clergy, &c?

Page 236. *Therefore in order to serve them, though I expect little thanks, &c.* And, why so? Will they not, as you say, follow their interest? I thought you said so. He has three or four sprightly turns of this kind, that look, as if he thought he had done wonders, and had put all the clergy in a ferment. Whereas, I do assure him, there are but two things wonderful in his book: First, how

how any man in a christian country could have the boldness and wickedness to write it: And, how any government would neglect punishing the author of it, if not as an enemy of religion, yet a profligate trumpeter of sedition. These are hard words, got by reading his book.

Ibid. *The light of nature as well as the gospel, obliges people to judge of themselves, &c. to avoid false prophets, seducers, &c.* The legislature can turn out a priest, and appoint another ready made, but not make one; as you discharge a physician, and may take a farrier; but he is no physician, unless made as he ought to be.

Ibid. *Since no more power is required for the one than the other.* That is, I dislike my physician, and can turn him off, therefore I can make any man a physician, &c. *Cujus est destruere, &c.* Jest on it: Therefore because he lays schemes for destroying the church, we must employ him to raise it again. See, what danger lies in applying maxims at random. So, because it is the soldiers business to knock men on the head, it is theirs likewise to raise them to life, &c.

Page 237. *It can belong only to the people to appoint their own ecclesiastical officers.* This word *People* is so delicious in him, that I cannot tell what is included in the idea of the *People*. Doth he mean the rabble or the legislature, &c. In this sense it may be true, that the legislature giveth leave to the bishops to appoint, and they appoint themselves; I

mean, the executive power appoints, &c. He sheweth his ignorance in government, As to *High Church* he carrieth it a prodigious way, and includeth, in the idea of it, more than others will allow.

Page 239. *Though it be customary to admit none to the ministry who are not approved by the bishops or priests, &c.* One of his principles to expose.

Ibid. *If every one has not an inherent right to chuse his own guide, then a man must be either of the religion of his guide, or, &c.* That would make delicate work in a nation: What would become of all our churches? They must dwindle into conventicles, Shew what would be the consequence of this scheme in several points. This great reformer, if his projects were reduced to practice, how many thousand sects, and consequently tumults, &c. Men must be governed in speculation, at least not suffered to vent them, because opinions tend to actions, which are most governed by opinions, &c. If those who write for the church writ no better, they would succeed but scurvily. But to see whether he be a good writer, let us see when he hath published his second part.

Page 253. *An excellent author in his preface to the account of Denmark.* This man judgeth and writeth much of a level. *Molesworth's* preface full of stale profligate topicks. That author wrote his book in spite to a nation, as this doth to religion, and both perhaps on poor personal piques.

Ibid.

Ibid. By which means, and not by any difference in speculative matters, they are more rich and populous. As if ever any body thought that a difference in speculative opinions made men richer or poorer; for example, &c.

Page 258. *Play the Devil for God's sake.* If this is meant for wit, I would be glad to observe it; but in such cases I first look whether there be common sense, &c.

Page 261. *Christendom has been the scene of perpetual wars, massacres, &c.* He doth not consider that most religious wars have been caused by schisms, when the dissenting parties were ready to join with any ambitious discontented men. The national religion always desireth peace, even in her notions, for its interests.

Page 270. *Some have taken the liberty to compare a high church priest in politics to a monkey in a glass shop, where, as he can do no good, so he never fails of doing mischief enough.* That is his modesty, it is his own simile, and it rather fits a man that does so and so (meaning himself). Besides the comparison is foolish. So it is with men, as with flags.

Page 276. *Their interest obliges them directly to promote tyranny.* The matter is, that christianity is the fault, which spoils the priests, for they were like other men, before they were priests. Among the Romans, priests did not do so; for they had the greatest

power during the republick. I wonder he did not prove, they spoiled Nero.

Page 277. *No princes have been more insupportable, and done greater violence to the commonwealth than those the clergy have honoured for saints and martyrs.* For example in our country, the princes most celebrated by our clergy are, &c. &c. &c. And the quarrels since the conquest were nothing at all of the clergy, but purely of families, &c. wherein the clergy only joined like other men.

Page 279. *After the reformation, I desire to know whether the conduct of the clergy was any ways altered for the better, &c.* Monstrous misrepresentation. Does this man's spirit of declaiming let him forget all truth of fact, as here, &c? Shew it. Or doth he flatter himself, a time will come in future ages, that men will believe it on his word? In short, between declaiming, between misrepresenting, and falseness, and charging popish things, and independency huddled together, his whole book is employed.

Set forth at large the necessity of union in religion, and the disadvantage of the contrary, and answer the contrary in *Holland*, where they have no religion, and are the worst constituted government in the world to last. It is ignorance of causes and appearances which makes shallow people judge so much to their advantage. They are governed by the administration, and almost legislature of *Holland* through advantage of property;

property; nor are they fit to be set in balance with a noble kingdom, &c. like a man that gets a hundred pounds a year by hard labour, and one that has it in land.

Page 280. *It may be worth enquiring, whether the difference between the several sects in England, &c.* A noble notion started, that union in the church must enslave the kingdom; reflect on it. This man hath somewhere heard, that it is a point of wit to advance paradoxes, and the bolder the better. But the wit lies in maintaining them, which he neglecteth, and formeth imaginary conclusions from them, as if they were true and uncontested.

He adds, *That in the best constituted church, the greatest good which can be expected of the ecclesiastics is from their divisions.* This is a maxim deduced from a gradation of false suppositions. If a man should turn the tables, and argue that all the debauchery, atheism, licentiousness, &c. of the times, were owing to the poverty of the clergy, &c. what would he say? There have been more wars of religion since the ruin of the clergy, than before in England. All the civil wars before were from other causes.

Page 283. *Prayers are made in the loyal university of Oxford, to continue the throne free from the contagion of schism. See Mather's Sermon on the 29th of May, 1705.* Thus he ridicules the university while he is eating their bread. The whole university comes with the most loyal addresses, yet that

goes for nothing. If one indiscreet man drops an indiscreet word, all must answer for it.

Page 286. *By allowing all, who hold no opinions prejudicial to the state, and contribute equally with their fellow subjects to its support, equal privileges in it.* But who denies that of the dissenters? The calvinist scheme, one would not think, proper for monarchy. Therefore, they fall in with the *Scotch, Geneva and Holland*; and when they had strength here, they pulled down the monarchy. But I will tell an opinion they hold prejudicial to the state in his opinion; and that is, that they are against toleration, of which, if I do not shew him ten times more instances from their greatest writers, than he can do of passive obedience among the clergy, I have done.

Does not justice demand, that they who alike contribute to the burden, should alike receive the advantage? Here is another of his maxims closely put without considering what exceptions may be made. The papists have contributed doubly (being so taxed) therefore by this rule they ought to have double advantage. Protection in property, leave to trade and purchase, &c. are enough for a government to give. Employments in a state are a reward for those who entirely agree with it, &c. For example, a man, who upon all occasions declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have employments;

ments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a capacity of reducing it to practice, &c.

Page 287. *There can be no alteration in the established mode of church discipline, which is not made in a legal way.* Oh, but there are several methods to compass this legal way, by cunning, faction, industry. The common people, he knows, may be wrought upon by priests; these may influence the faction, and so compass a very pernicious law, and in a legal way ruin the state; as king *Charles I.* began to be ruined in a legal way, by passing bills, &c.

Page 288. *As every thing is persecution, which puts a man in a worse condition than his neighbours.* It is hard to think sometimes whether this man is hired to write for or against dissenters and the sects. This is their opinion, although they will not own it so roundly. Let this be brought to practice: Make a quaker lord chancellor, who thinketh paying tythes unlawful. And bring other instances to shew that several employments affect the church.

Ibid. *Great advantage which both church and state have got by the kindness already shewn to dissenters.* Let them then be thankful for that. We humour children for their good sometimes, but too much may hurt. Observe that this 64th paragraph just contradicts the former. For, if we have advantage by kindness shewn dissenters, then there is no necessity of banishment, or death.

290. *Christ never designed the holy Sacrament should be prostituted to serve a party. And then people should be bribed by a place to receive unworthily.* Why, the business is, to be sure, that those who are employed are of the national church; and the way to know it is by receiving the sacrament, which all men ought to do in their own church; and if not, are hardly fit for an office; and if they have those moral qualifications, he mentioneth, joined to religion, no fear of receiving unworthily. And for this there might be a remedy: To take an oath, that they are of the same principles, &c. for that is the end of receiving; and that it might be no bribe, the bill against occasional conformity would prevent entirely.

Ibid. Preferring men not for their capacity, but their zeal to the church. The misfortune is, that if we prefer dissenters to great posts, they will have an inclination to make themselves the national church, and so there will be perpetual struggling; which case may be dangerous to the state. For men are naturally wishing to get over others to their own opinion: Witness this writer, who hath published as singular and absurd notions as possible, yet hath a mighty zeal to bring us over to them, &c.

Page 292. Here are two pages of scurrilous faction, with a deal of reflexions on great persons. Under the notion of high-churchmen, he runs down all uniformity and church

church government. - Here is the whole lower house of convocation, which represents the body of the clergy and both universities, treated with rudeness by an obscure, corrupt member, while he is eating their bread.

Page 294. *The reason why the middle sort of people retain so much of their antient virtue, &c. is because no such pernicious notions are the ingredients of their education; which 'tis a sign are infinitely absurd, when so many of the gentry and nobility can, notwithstanding their prepossession, get clear of them.* Now the very same argument lies against religion, morality, honour, and honesty, which are, it seems, but prejudices of education, and too many get clear of them. The middle sort of people have other things to mind than the factions of the age. He always assigneth many causes, and sometimes with reason, since he maketh imaginary effects. He quarrels at power being lodged in the clergy: When there is no reasonable protestant, clergy or laity, who will not readily own the inconveniencies by too great power and wealth, in any one body of men, ecclesiasticks, or seculars: But on that account, to weed up the wheat with the tares; to banish all religion, because it is capable of being corrupted; to give unbounded licence to all sects, &c.—And if heresies had not been used with some violence in the primitive age, we should have had, instead of true religion, the most corrupt one in the world.

Page 316. *The Dutch, and the rest of our presbyterian allies, &c.* The Dutch will hardly thank him for this appellation. The French huguenots, and Geneva protestants themselves, and others, have lamented the want of episcopacy, and approved ours, &c. In this and the next paragraph, the author introduceth the arguments he formerly used, when he turned papist in king James's time; and loth to lose them, he gives them a new turn; and they are the strongest in his book, at least have most artifice.

Page 333. *Tis plain, all the power the bishops have, is derived from the people, &c.* In general the distinction lies here. The permissive power of exercising jurisdiction, lies in the people, or legislature, or administrator of a kingdom; but not of making him a bishop. As a physician that commenceth abroad, may be suffered to practice in London or be hindered; but they have not the power of creating him a doctor, which is peculiar to a university. This is some allusion; but the thing is plain, as it seemeth to me, and wanteth no subterfuge, &c.

Page 338. *A journeyman bishop to ordain for him.* Doth any man think, that writing at this rate, does the author's cause any service? Is it his wit or his spleen that he cannot govern?

Page 364. *Can any have a right to an office without having a right to do those things in which the office consists?* I answer, the ordination is valid. But a man may prudentially

tially forbid to do some things. As a clergyman may marry without licence or banns; the marriage is good; yet he is punishable for it.

Page 368. *A choice made by persons who have no right to chuse, is an error of the first concoction.* That battered simile again; this is hard. I wish the physicians had kept that a secret, it lieth so ready for him to be witty with.

Page 370. *If prescription can make more nullities to become good and valid, the laity may be capable of all manner of ecclesiastical power, &c.* There is a difference; for here the same way is kept, although there might be breaches; but it is quite otherwise, if you alter the whole method from what it was at first. We see bishops: There always were bishops: It is the old way still. So a family is still held the same, although we are not sure of the purity of every one of the race.

Page 380. *It is said, That every nation is not a compleat body politick within itself as to ecclesiasticals. But the whole church, say they, composes such a body, and Christ is the head of it. But Christ's headship makes Christians no more one body politick with respect to ecclesiasticals than to civils.* Here we must shew the reason and necessity of the church being a corporation all over the world: To avoid heresies, and preserve fundamentals, and hinder corrupting of scripture, &c. But there are no such necessities in government, to be
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the same every where, &c. It is something like the colleges in a university; they all are independent, yet, joined, are one body. So a general council consisteth of many persons independent of one another, &c.

However there is such a thing as *Jus Gentium*, &c. And he that is doctor of physick, or law, is so in any university in *Europe*, like the *Respublica Literaria*. Nor to me does there seem any thing contradicting, or improper in this notion of the catholick church; and for want of such a communion, religion is so much corrupted, and would be more, if there were [not] more communion in this than in civils. It is of no import to mankind how nations are governed; but the preserving the purity of religion is best held up by endeavouring to make it one body over the world. Something like as there is in trade. So to be able to communicate with all christians we come among, is at least to be wished and aimed at as much as we can.

Page 384. *In a word, if the bishops are not supreme, &c.* Here he reassumeth his arguments for popery, that there cannot be a body politick of the church through the whole world, without a visible head to have recourse to. These were formerly writ to advance popery, and now to put an absurdity upon the hypothesis of a catholick church. As they say in *Ireland*, in king *James's* time they built mass-houses, which we make very good barns of.

Page 388. *Bishops are, under a premunire, obliged to confirm and consecrate the person named in the Congé d'Elire.* This perhaps is complained of. He is permitted to do it. We allow the legislature may hinder, if they please; as they may turn out christianity, if they think fit.

Page 389. *It is the magistrate who impowers them to do more for other bishops than they can for themselves, since they cannot appoint their own successors.* Yes they could, if the magistrate would let them. Here is an endless splutter, and a parcel of perplexed distinctions upon no occasion. All that the clergy pretend to, is a right of qualifying men for the ministry, something like what a university doth with degrees. This power they claim from God, and that the civil power cannot do it as pleasing to God without them; but they may chuse whether they will suffer it or no. A religion cannot be crammed down a nation's throat against their will; but when they receive a religion, it is supposed they receive it as their converters give it; and, upon that foot, they cannot justly mingle their own methods, that contradict that religion, &c.

Page 390. *With us the bishops act only ministerially, and by virtue of the regal commission, by which the prince firmly enjoins and commands them to proceed in chusing, confirming, and consecrating, &c.* Suppose we held it unlawful to do so: How can we help it? But does that make it rightful, if it be not so?

so? Suppose the author lived in a heathen country where a law would be made to call christianity idolatrous; would that be a to-pick for him to prove it so by, &c. And why do the clergy incur a premunire;—To frighten them—Because the law understandeth, that, if they refuse, the chosen cannot be a bishop: But, if the clergy had an order to do it otherwise than they have prescribed, they ought and would incur an hundred rather.

Page 402. *I believe the catholick church, &c.* Here he ridicules the Apottles Creed.—Another part of his scheme.—By what he says in these pages, it is certain, his design is either to run down christianity, or set up popery; the latter it is more charitable to think, and, from his past life, highly probable.

Page 405. *That which gave the papists so great advantage was, clergymens talking so very inconsistent with themselves, &c.* State the difference here between our separation from Rome, and the dissenters from us, and shew the falseness of what he sayeth. I wish he would tell us what he leaveth for a clergyman to do, if he may not instruct the people in religion, and if they should not receive his instructions.

Page 411. *The restraint of the press a badge of popery.* Why is that a badge [of popery? Why not restrain the press to those who would confound religion, as in civil matters. But this toucheth himself. He would starve, perhaps, &c. Let him get some honefter liveli-

livelihood then. It is plain, all his arguments against constraint, &c. favour the papists as much as dissenters; for both have opinions that may affect the peace of the state.

Page 413. *Since this discourse, &c.* And must we have another volume on this one subject of independency? Or, is it to fright us? I am not of Dr. *Hickes's* mind, *Qu'il venge*. I pity the readers, and the clergy that must answer it, be it ever so insipid. Reflect on his sarcastic conclusion, &c.

A N
A N S W E R
T O T H E
C R A F T S M A N

Of Dec. 12, 1730,

On a very interesting Subject relative to
I R E L A N D.

To which is prefixed,

The C R A F T S M A N itself.

T H E
C R A F T S M A N.

No. 232. SATURDAY, Dec. 12, 1730.

TH E following article, which hath lately appeared in the news-papers, deserveth our immediate consideration, *viz.*

“ They write from *Dublin*, that an officer
“ from every regiment in the *French* service
“ is arrived there, in order to raise recruits
“ for

“ for their respective corps ; which is not to
“ be done in a clandestine manner, as for-
“ merly (when several persons suffered death
“ for it), but publickly. These gentlemen
“ are to disperse themselves into the several
“ counties, where they have the best interest ;
“ and a field officer is to reside constantly at
“ *Dublin* to hear all complaints, which may
“ be made by any of the recruits against
“ their officers ; and also to prepare for
“ sending them off.—Count BROGLIO hath
“ been soliciting an order to this purpose,
“ these two years.”

When I first read this account in the publick prints, I looked upon it as a common piece of false intelligence, and was in full expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next day's papers, according to frequent custom ; but having since heard it confidently affirmed to be true (although I can hardly yet believe it ; especially, as to every part), the duty which I owe my country, and my zeal for the present establishment, oblige me to take some notice of an affair, which I apprehend to be of very great importance to both.

It will be necessary, in the first place, to give the reader a short account of the nature of these troops, as they are now established in *France*.

They consist, as we have been informed, of one regiment of horse, and five regiments of foot, all doubly or trebly officered ; so that

that they are, of themselves, a very considerable body of men.

But their number is the least point to be considered in this affair. There are other circumstances, which render these troops infinitely more formidable to *Great-Britain*. They are not only all Roman-Catholicks, but the most dangerous of that communion, with respect to us, I mean Roman-Catholic subjects of our own dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native country on account of rebellions and conspiracies, in which they have been engaged; and all of them devoted by inclination, by interest, by conscience, by every motive human and divine, to the service of the pretender, in opposition to the protestant succession in his majesty's royal family.

To this we may add, that they are generally esteemed the best forces in the *French* service; that they have always behaved themselves as such in the late wars; and are commanded by officers of approved courage, as well as great skill and experience in military affairs.

It is said likewise, that the serjeants, corporals, and private men are so well seasoned to danger, and expert in their duty, that, by a gradual promotion, they could furnish officers for a very formidable army, in case of any sudden invasion or insurrection.

In the next place, it will not be improper to examine this affair with regard to our laws.

It is made felony, by act of parliament in *Ireland*, for any subject of that kingdom to enlist himself, or to enlist others, in the service of any foreign state; and it is well known that multitudes of poor wretches have suffered death upon that account.

We know it may be said, that a power is reserved to his majesty, by a clause in that act, to dispense with it, by granting any foreign prince a licence to raise forces in his dominions, and indemnifying his subjects from the penalties of the law.

Although it is far from my intention to dispute any of his majesty's legal prerogatives, or to call the wisdom of the legislature in question, yet I must take the liberty to observe, that such powers have been sometimes granted out of complaisance to the crown, that the prince's hands may not be absolutely tyed up, and in full confidence that they will never be exerted but for the benefit of this nation, or possibly of some protestant ally, upon great emergencies of state. The exercise of the prerogative, in these cases, is therefore meerly a prudential part, which is left to the discretion of the prince and his ministers, who ought always to be supposed the best judges of these affairs; and therefore how ridiculous would it be to send to the attorney-general for his opinion in such a case, who can be a competent judge of nothing but the legality of it, and whether the affair be actionable or not; but ministers ought to regulate their conduct, in these respects,

respects, according to the situation of affairs, and the exigencies of government.

I must therefore beg leave to consider the present subject, of the *Irish* forces, in this light.

It will not be denied, I presume, that a licence to recruit Roman-Catholick regiments of *English* subjects, in foreign service, and in the interest of a pretender to the crown (which is death by the law, without his majesty's permission), is a favour of a very extraordinary nature, and ought to be attended with some extraordinary circumstances. I confess that I can see no such extraordinary circumstances at present; unless it should be said that this favour was granted, in order to engage our good allies in the demolition of *Dunkirk*; but I hope they have more generosity than to insist upon such hard terms for the effectual performance of that, which they are obliged by treaty to do. I am sure, such conditions seem unreasonable on our part, after we have made them so many other concessions; particularly with relation to the flag and Santa Lucia; which, I think, are sufficient to make them comply with all our demands, without expecting any farther favours, and even supererogations of friendship.

Perhaps my adversaries (if they have any conceit) may take an opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this strain; but as it sometimes serveth their turn to make me a great man, and to argue against me as
such,

such, I will for once suppose myself so ; and, methinks, if I had the honour of being but half an hour in that station, I could reason against such an order, for the good of my king and my country, in the following manner :

1. These troops have always been made use of, whenever there hath been any attempt in favour of the Pretender ; and indeed they are, upon many accounts, the fittest for this purpose. They are our fellow-subjects ; they speak our language ; are acquainted with our manners ; and do not raise that aversion in the people, which they naturally conceive against other foreign troops, who understand neither. I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for this purpose, in entire regiments, without suffering them to be mixed with the troops of any other nation. It is well known, at least, that they supplied the late king JAMES with a nursery of soldiers, who were always ready for his service, whenever any opportunity offered itself, for his restoration ; and that, at this time, the Pretender is always the bait made use of by their officers to raise recruits. They never mention the king of *France*, or the king of *Spain*, upon these occasions ; but list the poor wretches under an assurance, that they are entered into the service of him, whom they call their natural and rightful king. I will not suspect the present fidelity of *France*, and their cordiality to the protestant establishment ; yet methinks we might easily excuse
I ourselves

ourselves from furnishing them with instruments, which they may employ against us, whenever ambition, or reasons of state, shall dissolve their present engagements, and induce them to espouse the cause of the Pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his Catholick Majesty (who hath likewise several regiments of this kind in his service) will expect the same favour of recruiting them in *Ireland*; and that he may, in case of refusal, make it a pretence, at any time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our commerce, and disturbing us again in the possession of *Gibraltar*. And here it is proper just to take notice, that these troops did his Catholick Majesty the most eminent service in the last siege of that important place. He may complain, perhaps, of our partiality to *France*, and alledge, that we do not treat *Spain* in the same manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the most favoured nations.

3. The kingdom of *Ireland* seemeth, at this time, in a very ill condition to admit of any such draughts out of her dominions. She hath been already so much exhausted by the voluntary transportation of multitudes of her inhabitants (who have been prevailed upon, by the calamities of their own country, to seek their bread in other parts of the world), that the interposition of parliament was found necessary to put a stop to it; and shall we suffer any foreign power to drain her still farther under such circumstances; especially

pecially in this manner, and for this purpose ? I do not hear that this licence is confined to any particular number of men. It is confessed, I think, that they want above two thousand men to compleat their corps ; and who knoweth but they may design to raise a great many more than they care to own ; or even to form some new regiments of these troops ? But supposing they are confined to a certain number of recruits, and that *Ireland* were in a capacity to spare them ; it is well known how easily such limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when people conform exactly to the terms of their commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late famous controversy, concerning Mr. WOOD's [c] patent for supplying *Ireland* with a particular sum of copper half-pence ; and the arguments upon that subject may be applied to this, with some allowances for the difference between two cases. It may, perhaps, be said likewise, that all the vigilance of the ministry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the *French* from clandestinely recruiting these regiments with *Irish* Catholics ; and, therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly ; nay, that it is our interest to let them purge *Ireland* of her popish inhabitants as much as they please ; but I deny this for several reasons, which I shall mention presently ; and if it were really the case, that the *French* can at any time re-

[c] See the Drapier's Letters.

cruit these troops clandestinely, I cannot see any reason why they should solicit an order so pressingly, for two years together, to do it openly, unless they have some other design. Ought not even this consideration to put us a little upon our guard; and is it not a tacit confession, that these troops are thought to be of more importance to them than we ought to wish? Besides, are we to licence and authorise a mischievous practice, because we cannot totally prevent it? Every one justly applauded his majesty's singular firmness and resolution in supporting the rights of his *German* subjects, when an attempt was made to seduce some of them into the king of *Prussia's* service, although perhaps it is impossible to prevent that practice entirely. We all remember that the insisting a miller's son, and a few other ordinary peasants, occasioned such a misunderstanding between the two crowns, as proceeded almost to a rupture. Nor was the zeal of the *English* parliament backward on this occasion; but, on this consideration, amongst others, resolved to keep up a body of 12,000 *Hessian* troops in our pay, which have already cost us above a million of money. I am confident, therefore, that the same paternal care will always influence his majesty to guard and protect his *British* subjects in the same manner; and, if any measure should be taken, which favours too much of the *French* interest, and seemeth of dangerous consequence to the interest of his family,

family, the world can impute it to nothing but the deceitful representations of those, who lie under such particular obligations to the court of *France*, that they can refuse them nothing.

Such a licence seemeth to give encouragement to the people of *Ireland* to continue Roman Catholicks; since they are sure to meet with a provision both in the *French* and *Spanish* service; whereas we always reject them in our troops, and absolutely prohibit our officers to recruit in *Ireland*. Now, although it may not be safe to trust them in our armies; yet certainly we ought not to give the least encouragement to their entering into foreign service; especially into such compact bodies as these regiments. And here it will not be amiss to relate a story much more to the honour of an *English* nobleman, who hath also one of the largest estates in *Ireland* of any man in the kingdom. When he went to visit the invalids in *France*, a place in the nature of our *Chelsea* college here, all the *Irish* officers and soldiers of that hospital drew out in a body to do him particular honours. We can make no question that their chief view was to have some present from his lordship; but though he hath an heart as well disposed to generous charity as any man, and a purse well able to answer the dictates of it; yet out of regard to his country, for which he hath likewise the most disinterested zeal, his answer to them was only this: "Gentlemen,

" I am very sensible of the honour you have
 " done me, and heartily pity your misfor-
 " tunes ; but as you have drawn them upon
 " yourselves, by serving against your coun-
 " try, you must not expect any relief or re-
 " ward from me, for having suffered in a
 " service, in which I wish you had never en-
 " gaged".

5. Is there not some reason to apprehend that this licence may, at one time or other, prove a snare to that country, and draw many people into their destruction ; for, unless it is made perpetual, can it be supposed that all the poor ignorant wretches in the kingdom should be apprized how long this licence is to be in force ? or when they may list with impunity, and when they may not ? Besides, as it may be presumed that these officers will never go, for the future, upon such errands, without some pretended orders, when the real one is expired ; so they will find it no difficult matter to impose such a counterfeit upon illiterate people ; who may thus incur the penalties of the law, without knowing any thing of the matter. Such a method of providing for persons, whose principles render them unserviceable in our army, is indeed a little more charitable than a late [d] project for preventing *Irish* children from being starved, by fattening them up, and selling them to the butcher.

6. I have often heard that these troops have been made use of parliament, as an argu-

[d] See Vol. IV. of the author's works.

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ment for keeping up a standing army in *England*; and I think we need not take any measures to render that argument stronger. God knows, there are too many arguments always ready upon such occasions.

I might insist upon some other points, which this affair naturally suggesteth to a considering mind; particularly the danger of suffering several bigotted *Irish* papists, in foreign service, to disperse themselves into those countries where they have the best interest, and to stroll about *Ireland* amongst their relations and old acquaintance, of the same principles with themselves. Are we sure that they will not make a bad use of this liberty by enquiring into the strength of their party, by giving them hopes, and taking an opportunity to concert measures for the advantage of their cause? Have we no reason to apprehend that they may endeavour to raise seamen as well as soldiers, under colour of this order? or engage great numbers of their countrymen to transport themselves over the *French* colonies and plantations in the *West-Indies*, which are already grown formidable to the trading interest of *Great-Britain* in those parts?

But whatever may be the motives to such an extraordinary favour, or the consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest mark of our confidence in *France*, and such an one as, I believe, they would not place in us, upon any occasion. I will illustrate this by a parallel case.

The *French* protestants, who fled over hither from a persecution on account of religion, never discovered any principles, which were incompatible with the civil government of *France*, nor ever set up any Pretender to the present royal family of that kingdom; and yet, if we should think fit to form any considerable number of them into compleat distinct regiments, to be composed of *French* protestants only, and commanded by *French* officers, without any incorporation of *British* soldiers, I fancy it would give our good allies some umbrage. But I am almost confident, that they would never permit us to send over a protestant *French* officer from every regiment to recruit their respective corps, by dispersing themselves into those provinces where they have the best interest; or suffer a field officer, in *English* pay, to reside constantly in *Paris*, and exercise a sort of martial law in the capital of their dominions; I say, they would hardly suffer this, even though our ambassador should solicit such an order, with the utmost application, for twenty years together.

And yet the case of the *Irish* forces is much stronger with respect to us. They do not differ with us only in matters of religion; but hold principles absolutely destructive of our civil government; and are generally looked upon abroad as a standing army, kept on foot to serve the Pretender upon any occasion.

I must ask a question or two, which naturally offer themselves in this place.

What

What power is this field officer to exercise during his residence in *Dublin*? Is the *French* martial law to take place, if any one of these recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert?

Troops are generally armed as soon as they are listed. Is this rule to be observed in the present case? If so, another question occur-reth. It hath been found necessary, for the security of *Ireland*, to restrain all Roman Catholics from wearing, or keeping any arms in their houses. I ask, therefore, whether the authority of this licence is to supersede the laws of the land? I may go farther.

The garrison of *Dublin* seldom consisteth of above 800 men for the duty of the place. Supposing double that number of popish recruits should be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their field officer, will it be said that there is no just apprehension of danger? but as these suggestions may appear to be founded on the infidelity of *France* (a case not to be supposed at present) I press them no farther.

I must however repeat it, that this order is the fullest demonstration of the confidence we repose in them; and I hope they will scorn to make any bad use of it: But if it were possible to suspect that they could have any design to play the knave with us, they could not wish for a better opportunity to promote it, than by such a power as is now said to be put into their hands.

I hope

I hope my remarks on this article of news will not be construed in a *Jacobite* sense, even by the most prostitute scriblers of the present times ; but I must beg leave to expostulate a little with the publick on that mean infamous practice, which these writers have lately used, in explaining some of my papers into treasonable libels ; taking an occasion from hence to appear formally in defence of the throne, and laying it down, as a point granted, that there is an actual, concerted design of setting aside the present establishment. This is a practice which may be of great service to the real enemies of the present government ; and every *Jacobite* in the kingdom may make use of it to publish the most explicit invectives on the king and his government, under the pretence of interpreting the implicit design of other writings. It is a practice, which was never allowed of till now, and ought never to be allowed ; for whatever may be the secret meaning of any author, such explanations are certainly libels, which may have a very bad effect upon weak minds, and are punishable by the laws, without any extraordinary methods of construction. These writers ought to remember the case of Sir RICHARD STEELE, who published the pretender's declaration, at the beginning of the late reign, with an answer annexed ; and although he did it with a very good design, yet it was universally allowed to be contrary to law ; and, if his principles of loyalty had not been very well

well known, might have involved him in a severe prosecution. I shall make no reflexions on those, who encouraged such explanations; and those who are hired to do it, are beneath my notice. Let them empty all the trite common places of servile, injudicious flattery, and endeavour to make their court by such nauseous, dishonest adulation, as, I am sure, gives the most offence to those persons, to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul dirt at me as they please. Let them charge me with designs, which never entered into my thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any part of my conduct. God knoweth my heart, I am as zealous for the welfare of the present royal family as the most sordid of these sycophants. I am sensible, that our happiness dependeth on the security of his majesty's title, and the preservation of the present government, upon those principles, which established them at the late glorious revolution; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the conduct of *Britons* to the latest generations. These have always been my principles; and whoever will give himself the trouble of looking over the course of these papers, will be convinced that they have been my guide: But I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old man, who am not afraid to speak the truth; and as I have no relish for flattery myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not, however, been sparing of just praise, nor slipt any seasonable opportunity to
disting-

distinguish the royal virtues of their present majesties [b]. More than this I cannot do; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolished for the climate of a court; but they flowed purely from the sincerity of my heart; and the freedom of my writings hath proceeded from my zeal for the interest of my king and country.

With regard to my adversaries, I will leave every impartial reader to judge, whether, even in private life, that man is not most to be depended upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good qualities of his friend, never loadeth him with fulsome flatteries, but takes the honest liberty of warning him against the measures of those who are endeavouring to mislead him. The case is much stronger in publick life; and a crown is beset with so many difficulties, that even a prince of the most consummate wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the dangers, which surround him, from the stratagems of artful ministers, or the blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad ministers, and pursue the same methods of supporting themselves, by flattering him into measures which tend to his destruction.

But it is time to draw to a conclusion; and I can only add, that if I were really engag-

[b] King GEORGE II. and Queen CAROLINE his Consort.

The CRAFTSMAN. 145

ed, in any design, contrary to the interest of the present establishment, I should have sat down contented, and secretly rejoiced at the affair, which occasioned this paper, instead of giving myself and the reader so much trouble.

C. D.

VOL. XIII.

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THE
ANSWER
TO THE
CRAFTSMAN.

SIR,

I DETEST reading your papers, because I am not of your principles, and because I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet, I was prevailed on to peruse your CRAFTSMAN of *December* the 12th, wherein I discover you to be as great an enemy of this country, as you are of your own. You are pleased to reflect on a project I proposed of making the children of *Irisb* parents to be useful to the publick instead of being burthensome; and you venture to assert, that your own scheme is more charitable, of not permitting our popish natives to be listed in the service of any foreign prince.

Perhaps, Sir, you may not have heard of any kingdom so unhappy as this, both in their imports and exports. We import a sort of goods, of no intrinsick value, which it costeth us above forty thousand pounds a year to dress, and scour, and polish, which altogether do not yield one penny advantage; and we annually export above seven hundred thousand

thousand pounds a year in another kind of goods, for which we receive not one single farthing in return : Even the money paid for letters sent in transacting this commerce being all returned to *England*. But now, when there is a most lucky opportunity offered to begin a trade, whereby this nation will save many thousand pounds a year, and *England* be a prodigious gainer, you are pleased, without a call, officiously and maliciously to interpose with very frivolous arguments.

It is well known, that, about sixty years ago, the exportation of live cattle from hence to *England* was of great benefit to both kingdoms, until that branch of traffick was stopt by an act of parliament on your side, whereof you have sufficient reason to repent. Upon which account, when an other act passed your parliament, forbidding the exportation of live men to any foreign country, you were so wise to put in a clause, allowing it to be done by his majesty's permission, under his sign manual, for which, among other great benefits granted to *Ireland*, we are infinitely obliged to the *British* legislature. Yet this very grace and favour you, Mr. D'ANVER, whom we never disobliged, are endeavouring to prevent ; which, I will take upon me to say, is a manifest mark of your disaffection to his majesty, a want of duty to the ministry, a wicked design of oppressing this kingdom, and a traiterous attempt to lessen the trade and manufactures of *England*.

Our trueſt and beſt ally the moſt Chriſtian king hath obtained his majeſty's licence, purſuant to law, to export from hence ſome thouſand bodies of healthy, young, living men, to ſupply his *Iriſh* regiments. The king of *Spain*, as you aſſert yourſelf, hath deſired the ſame civility, and ſeemeth to have at leaſt as good a claim: ſuppoſing then that theſe two potentates will only deſire leave to carry off ſix thouſand men between them to *France* and *Spain*; then, by computing the maintenance of a tall hungry *Iriſh* man, in food and cloaths, to be only at five pounds a head, here will be thirty thouſand pounds *per annum* ſaved clear to the nation, for they can find no other employment at home beſides begging, robbing, or ſtealing. But, if thirty, forty, or fifty thouſand (which we could gladly ſpare) were ſent on the ſame errand, what an immense benefit it muſt be to us? And, if the two princes, in whoſe ſervice they were, ſhould happen to be at war with each other, how ſoon would thoſe recruits be deſtroyed; then what a number of friends would the pretender loſe, and what a number of popiſh enemies all true proteſtants get rid of! Add to this, that then by ſuch a practice the lands of *Ireland*, that want hands for tillage, muſt be employed in grazing, which would ſink the price of wool, raw hides, butter, and tallow, ſo that the *Engliſh* might have them at their own rates; and in return ſend us wheat to make our bread, barley to brew our drink, and oats for our horſes, without any labour of our own.

Upon

Upon this occasion, I desire humbly to offer a scheme, which, in my opinion, would best answer the true interest of both kingdoms: For, although I bear a most tender filial affection for *England*, my dear native country; yet, I cannot deny but this noble island hath a great share in my love and esteem, nor can I express how much I desire to see it flourish in trade and opulence, even beyond its present happy condition.

The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, usually computed at seventeen millions of acres, all which I propose to be wholly turned to grazing. Now, it is found by experience, that one grazier and his family can manage two thousand acres. Thus, sixteen millions eight hundred thousand acres may be managed by eight thousand four hundred families, and the fraction of two hundred thousand acres will be more than sufficient for cabbins, out-houses, and potatoe-gardens; because it is to be understood, that corn of all sorts must be sent to us from *England*.

These eight thousand four hundred families may be divided among the four provinces, according to the number of houses in each province; and, making the equal allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to sixty-seven thousand two hundred souls; to these we are to add a standing army of twenty thousand *English*, which, together with their trulls, their bastards, and their horse-boys, will, by a gross computation, very near double the count, and be very

sufficient for the defence and grazing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the Pretender. And, lest the army should be at a loss for business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the publick taxes for paying themselves and the civil list.

I advise, that all our owners of those lands should live constantly in *England*, in order to learn politeness, and qualify themselves for employments: But, for fear of increasing the natives in this island, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever prince will bear the carriage; or transplanted to the *English* dominions on the *American* continent, as a screen between his majesty's *English* subjects and the savage *Indians*.

I advise likewise, that no commodity whatsoever, of this nation's growth, should be sent to any other country, except *England*, under the penalty of high treason; and that all the said commodities shall be sent in their natural state, the hides raw, the wool uncombed, the flax in the stub; excepting only fish, butter, tallow, and whatever else will be spoiled in the carriage. On the contrary, that no goods whatsoever shall be imported hither, except from *England*, under the same penalty: That *England* should be forced, at their own rates, to send us over cloaths ready made, as well as shirts and smocks to the soldiers and their trulls; all iron, wooden, and earthen ware; and whatever furniture may be

be necessary for the cabbins of graziers, with a sufficient quantity of gin, and other spirits, for those who can afford to get drunk on holy-days.

As to the civil and ecclesiastical administration, which I have not fully considered, I can say little; only with regard to the latter, it is plain, that the article of paying tythe for supporting speculative opinions in religion, which is so insupportable a burthen to all true protestants, and to most churchmen, will be very much lessened by this expedient; because dry cattle pay nothing to the spiritual hireling, any more than imported corn; so that the industrious shepherd and cowherd may sit, every man under his own blackberry bush, and his own potatoe-bed, whereby this happy island will become a new *Arcadia*.

I do likewise propose, that no money shall be used in *Ireland*, except what is made of leather, which likewise shall be coined in *England*, and imported; and that the taxes shall be levied out of the commodities we export for *England*, and there turned into money for his majesty's use; and the rents to landlords discharged in the same manner. This will be no manner of grievance, for we already see it very practicable to live without money, and shall be more convinced of it every day. But, whether paper shall continue to supply that defect, or whether we shall hang up all those who profess the trade of bankers (which latter I am rather inclined
K 4 to),

to), must be left to the consideration of wiser politicians.

That which maketh me more zealously bent upon this scheme is my desire of living in amity with our neighbouring brethren; for we have already tryed all other means, without effect, to that blessed end: And, by the course of measures taken for some years past, it should seem that we are all agreed in the point.

This expedient will be of great advantage to both kingdoms, upon several accounts: For, as to *England*, they have a just claim to the balance of trade on their side with the whole world; and therefore our ancestors and we, who conquered this kingdom for them, ought, in duty and gratitude, to let them have the whole benefit of that conquest to themselves; especially, when the conquest was amicably made, without blood-shed, by stipulation between the *Irish* princes and *Henry II.* by which they paid him, indeed, not equal homage with what the electors of *Germany* do the emperor, but very near the same that he did to the king of *France* for his *French* dominions.

In consequence of this claim from *England*, that kingdom may very reasonably demand the benefit of all our commodities in their natural growth, to be manufactured by their people, and a sufficient quantity of them for our use to be returned hither fully manufactured.

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This, on the other side, will be of great benefit to our inhabitants the graziers, when time and labour will be too much taken up in manuring their ground, feeding their cattle, sheering their sheep, and sending over their oxen fit for slaughter; to which employments they are turned by nature, as descended from the *Scythians*, whose diet they are still so fond of. So *Virgil* describeth it:

Et lac concretum cum sanguine bibit equino.

Which, in *English*, is Bonnyclabber [*f*], mingled with the blood of horses, as they formerly did, until about the beginning of the last century, when luxury, under the form of politeness, beginning to creep in, they changed the blood of horses for that of their black cattle; and, by consequence, became less warlike than their ancestors.

Although I proposed that the army should be collectors of the publick revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that those taxes should be paid in gold or silver; but in kind, as all other rent: For the custom of tenants making their payments in money, is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, nor generally practised in any nation at present, except this island, and the Southern parts of *Britain*. But, to my great satisfaction, I foresee better times; the ancient manner beginneth to be now practised in many parts of *Connaught*, as well as in the county of *Corke*, where the 'squires turn tenants to themselves,

[*f*] Thick, four milk,

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divide

divide so many cattle to their slaves, who are to provide such a quantity of butter, hides, or tallow, still keeping up their number of cattle? and carry the goods to *Corke*, or other port-towns, and then sell them to merchants. By which invention there is no such thing as a ruined farmer to be seen; but the people live with comfort on potatoes and bonnyclabber, neither of which are vendible commodities abroad.

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M E M O I R S

O F

Capt. JOHN CREICHTON.

From his own MATERIALS.

Drawn up and digested by

Dr. J. SWIFT, D.S.P.D.

First printed in the Year 1731.

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The P R I N T E R's
A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

WHEN Dr. Swift was at Sir Arthur Acheson's at Markethill in the county of Armagh, an old gentleman was recommended to him, as being a remarkable cavalier in the reigns of Charles II. James II. and William III. who had behaved with great loyalty and bravery in Scotland during the troubles of those reigns, but was neglected by the government, although he deserved great rewards from it. As he was reduced in his circumstances, Dr. Swift made him a handsome present; but said at the same time, "Sir, this trifle cannot support you long, and your friends may grow tired of you; therefore I would have you contrive some honest means of getting a sum of money sufficient to put you into a way of life of supporting yourself with independency in your old age." To which captain Creichton (for that was the gentleman's name) answered, "I have tired all my friends, and cannot expect any such extraordinary favours." Then Dr. Swift replied, "Sir, I have heard much of your adventures; that they are fresh in your memory; that you can tell them with
" great

ADVERTISEMENT. 157

“ great humour ; and that you have taken
 “ memorandums of them in writing.” To
 which the captain said, “ I have ; but no
 “ one can understand them but myself.” Then
 Dr. Swift rejoined, “ Sir, get your manu-
 “ scripts, read them to me, and tell me none
 “ but genuine stories ; then I will place them
 “ in order for you, prepare them for the press,
 “ and endeavour to get you a subscription among
 “ my friends, as you may do among your own.”
 The captain, soon after, waited on the dean
 with his papers, and related many adven-
 tures to him ; which the dean was so kind as
 to put in order of time, to correct the style, and
 make a small book of entitled, *The MEMOIRS*
OF CAPTAIN JOHN CREICHTON.
 A subscription was immediately set on foot, by
 the dean’s interest and recommendation, which
 raised for the captain above two hundred
 pounds, and made the remaining part of his
 life very happy and easy.

T O T H E
R E A D E R,

THE author of these memoirs, Capt. *John Creighton*, is still alive, and resides in the northern part of this kingdom. He is a very honest and worthy man; but of the old stamp: and, it is probable, that some of his principles will not relish very well, in the present disposition of the world. His memoirs are therefore to be received like a posthumous work, and as containing facts, which very few alive, except himself, can remember: Upon which account, none of his generous subscribers are, in the least, answerable for many opinions, relating to the public, both in church and state, which he seems to justify, and in the vindication of which, to the hazard of his life, and the loss of his fortune, he spent the most useful part of his days. Principles, as the world goes, are little more than Fashion; and the apostle tells us, that *the Fashion of this World passeth away*. We read with pleasure the memoirs of several authors, whose party we disapprove, if they be written with nature and truth. Curious men are desirous to see what can be said on both sides; and even the virulent flat relation of *Ludlow*, though written in the spirit of rage, prejudice and vanity, doth not want its

TO THE READER. 159

its advocates. This inclines me to think, that the memoirs of Capt. *Creighton* may not be unacceptable to the curious of every party ; because, from my knowledge of the man, and the testimony of several considerable persons, of different political denominations, I am confident, that he hath not inserted one passage or circumstance, which he did not know, or, from the best intelligence he could get, believed to be true.

These memoirs are therefore offered to the world in their native simplicity. And it was not with little difficulty, that the author was persuaded by his friends to recollect and put them in order, chiefly for his own justification, and partly by the importunity of several eminent gentlemen, who had a mind that they should turn to some profit to the author.

The captain having made over all his little estate to a beloved daughter, upon her marriage, on the condition of being entertained in her house for the small remainder of his life, hath put it out of his own power, either to supply his incidental wants, to pay some long-contracted debts, or to gratify his generous nature in being further useful to his family ; on which accounts, he desires to return his most humble thanks to his worthy subscribers ; and hopes they will consider him no further than as an honest, well-meaning man, who, by his own person-
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al courage and conduct, was able to distinguish himself, under many disadvantages, to a degree, that few private lives have been attended with so many singular and extraordinary events.

Besides the great simplicity in the style and manner of the author, it is a very valuable circumstance, that his plain relation corrects many mistaken passages in other historians, which have too long passed for truths; and whoever impartially compares both, will probably decide in the captain's favour: For the memory of old men is seldom deceived, in what passed in their youth and vigour of age: And, if he hath, at any time, happened to be mistaken in circumstances of time or place (with neither of which I can charge him), it was certainly against his will. Some of his own personal distresses and actions, which he hath related, might be almost the subject of a tragedy.

Upon the whole, comparing great things to small, I know not any memoirs that more resemble those of *Philip de Comines* (which have received so universal approbation) than these of Capt. *Creighton*, which are told in in a manner equally natural, and with equal appearance of truth, although, I confess, upon affairs in a more obscure scene, and of less importance. J. S.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S

O F

Capt. JOHN CREICHTON.

THE former part of my life having been attended with some passages and events not very common to men of my private and obscure condition, I have (perhaps induced by the talkativeness of old age) very freely and frequently communicated them to several worthy gentlemen, who were pleased to be my friends, and some of them my benefactors. These persons professed themselves to be so well entertained with my story, that they often wished it could be digested into order, and published to the world, believing that such a treatise, by the variety of incidents, written in a plain unaffected style, might be, at least, some *amusement* to indifferent readers; of some *example* to those who desire strictly to adhere to their duty and principles; and might serve to vindicate *my reputation* in *Scotland*, where I am well known; that kingdom having been the chief scene of my acting, and where I have been represented, by a fanatick rebellious party, as a *persecutor of the saints*, and a *man of blood*.

Having lost the benefit of a thorough school education by a most indiscreet marriage, in all *worldly views*, although to a very good woman;

woman; and, in consequence thereof, being forced to seek my fortune in *Scotland* as a soldier, where I forgot all the little I had learned, the reader cannot reasonably expect to be much pleased with my style, or method, or manner of relating: It is enough, if I never wilfully fail in point of truth, nor offend by *malice* or *partiality*. My memory, I thank God, is yet very perfect as to things long past, although, like an old man, I retain but little of what hath happened since I grew into years.

I am likewise very sensible of an infirmity in many authors, who write their own memoirs, and are apt to lay too much weight upon *trifles*, which they are vain enough to conceive the world to be as much concerned in as themselves; yet I remember that *Plutarch*, in his lives of great men (which I have read in the *English* translation), says, that the nature and disposition of a man's mind may be often better discovered by a *small circumstance*, than by an action or event of the *greatest importance*. And, besides, it is not improbable that grey hairs may have brought upon me a *vanity*, to desire that posterity may know what manner of man I was.

I lye under another disadvantage, and, indeed a very great one, from the wonderful *change of opinions*, since I first made any appearance in the world. I was bred under the principles of the strictest *loyalty* to my prince, and in an exact conformity in *discipline*, as well as *doctrine*, to the *church* of *England*; which are neither altered nor shaken
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to this very day ; and I am now too old to mend. However, my different sentiments, since my last troubles after the revolution, have never had the least influence either upon my actions or discourse. I have submitted myself with entire resignation, according to *St. Paul's* precept, *to the powers that be*. I converse equally with all parties, and am equally favoured by all ; and, God knows, it is now of little consequence what my opinions are, under such a weight of age and infirmities, with a very scanty subsistence, which, instead of *comforting*, will hardly *support* me.

But there is another point, which requires a better *apology* than I am able to give : A judicious reader will be apt to censure me, and, I confess, with reason enough, as guilty of a very foolish *superstition* in relating my dreams, and how I was guided by them with success, in discovering one or two principal *Covenanters*. I shall not easily allow myself to be, either by *nature* or *education*, more *superstitious* than other men ; but I take the truth to be this : Being then full of *zeal* against *enthusiastical rebels*, and better informed of their lurking holes than most officers in the army, this made so strong an impression on my mind, that it affected my dreams ; when I was directed to the most probable places, almost as well as if I had been *awake*, being guided in the night by the same *conjectures* I had made in the day. There could possibly be no more in the matter ; and God forbid I should pretend to a spirit of *divination*,

divination, which would make me resemble those very *hypocritical saints*, whom it was both my *duty* and *inclination*, to bring to justice, for their many horrid *blasphemies* against *God*, *rebellions* against their *prince*, and *barbarities* towards their *countrymen* and *fellow Christians*.

My great-grand-father, *Alexander Creighton*, of the house of *Dumfries*, in *Scotland*; in a feud between the *Maxwells* and the *Johnstons* (the chief of the *Johnstons* being the lord *Johnston*, ancestor of the present marquis of *Annandale*), siding with the latter, and having killed some of the former, was forced to fly into *Ireland*, where he settled near *Kinnard*, then a woody-country, and now called *Calidon*: But within a year or two, some friends and relations of those *Maxwells* who had been killed in the feud, coming over to *Ireland* to pursue their revenge, lay in wait for my grand-father in the wood, and shot him dead, as he was going to church. This accident happened about the time that *James* the sixth of *Scotland* came to the crown of *England*.

Alexander, my great-grand father, left two sons, and as many daughters; his eldest son *John*, lived till a year or two after the rebellion in 1641. His house was the first in *Ulster* set upon by the *Irish*, who took and imprisoned him at *Dungannon*; but, fortunately making his escape, he went to Sir *Robert Stuart*, who was then in arms for the king, and died in the service.

This

CAPT. JOHN CREICHTON. 165

This *John*, who was my grand-father, left two sons, *Alexander*, my father, and a young son, likewise named *John*, who, being a child but two or three years old, at his father's death was invited to *Scotland* by the lady *Dumfries*, there educated by her, and sent to sea : He made several voyages to and from *Barbadoes*, then settled in *Scotland*, where he died some time after the *Restoration*, leaving, beside a daughter, one son, who, at my charges, was bred up a *Physician*, and proved so famous in his profession, that he was sent, by her late majesty *Queen Anne*, to cure the king of *Portugal* of the venereal disease. He had a thousand pounds paid him in hand, before he began his journey ; but when he arrived at *Lisbon*, the *Portuguese* council and physicians dissuaded that king 'from trusting his person with a foreigner. However his majesty of *Portugal* shewed him several marks of his esteem ; and, at parting, presented him with a very rich jewel, which he sold afterwards for five hundred guineas. He stayed there not above six weeks ; during which time, he got considerable practice. After living many years in *London*, where he grew very rich, he died in *November* 1726, and, as it is believed, without making a will, which is very probable, because, although he had no children, he left me no legacy, who was his *cousin-german*, and had been his greatest *benefactor*, by the care and expence of his education. Upon this matter, I must add one circumstance more,
how

how little significant soever it may be to others. Mr. Archdeacon *Maurice* being at *London*, in order to his journey to *France*, on account of his health, went to visit the doctor, and put him in mind of me, urging the obligations I had laid upon him. The doctor agreed to send me whatever sum of money the archdeacon should think *reasonable*, and deliver it to him on his return from his travels; but unfortunately the doctor died two or three days before the archdeacon came back.

Alexander, my father, was about eighteen years old in 1641. The *Irish* rebellion then breaking out, he went to captain *Gerard Irvin*, his relation, who was then captain of horse, and afterwards knighted by king *Charles* the second. This gentleman having a party for the king, soon after joined with Sir *Robert Stuart* in the county of *Donegal*; where, in the course of those troubles, they continued skirmishing, sometimes with the *Irish* rebels, and sometimes with those of the *English* parliament, after the rebellion in *England* began; till at length captain *Irvin*, and one Mr. *Stuart*, were taken prisoners, and put in goal in *Derry*; which city was kept for the parliament against the king, by Sir *Charles Coote*. Here my father performed a very memorable and gallant action, in rescuing his relation captain *Irvin*, and Mr. *Stuart*. I will relate this fact in all its particulars, not only because it will do some honour to my father's memory, but likewise because, for its bold-

ness and success, it seems to me very well to deserve recording.

My father having received information, that Sir *Charles Coote*, governor of *Derry*, had publickly declared, that captain *Irwin* and his *companion* should be put to death within two or three days, communicated this intelligence to seven trusty friends; who all engaged to assist him, with the hazard of their *lives*, in delivering the two gentlemen from the danger that threatened them. They all agreed that my father, and three more, at the hour of six in the morning, when the west-gate stood open, and the draw-bridge was let down, for the governor's horses to go out to water, should ride in, one by one, after a manner as if they belonged to the town, and there conceal themselves in a friend's house till night; at which time my father was to acquaint captain *Irwin* and his *fellow prisoner* with their design, which was to this purpose: That, after concerting measures at the prison, my father should repair to a certain place on the city-wall, and give instructions to the four without, at twelve at night: Accordingly, next morning, as soon as the gate was open, my father, with his three comrades, got into the town, and the same night having settled matters with the two gentlemen, that they should be ready at six next morning, at which hour, he and his three friends should call upon them; he then went to the wall, and directed the four, who were without, that as soon as they should see the gate open, and
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the bridge drawn, one of them should walk up to the centry, and secure him from making any noise, by holding a pistol to his breast; after which, the other three should ride up, and secure the room where the by-guard lay, to prevent them from coming out: Most of the garrison were in their beds, which encouraged my father and his friends, and much facilitated the enterprize: Therefore precisely at six o'clock, when the by-guard and centry at the western-gate were secured by the four without, my father and the other three within being mounted on horse back, with one spare horse, in the habit of town's people, with cudgels in their hands, called at the goal-door, on pretence to speak to captain *Irvin* and Mr. *Stuart*. They were both walking in a large room in the goal, with the goaler and three soldiers attending them; but these not suspecting the persons on horseback before the door, whom they took to be inhabitants of the town, my father asked captain *Irvin* whether he had any commands to a certain place, where he pretended to be going; the captain made some answer, but said they should not go before they had drank with him; then giving a piece of money to one of the soldiers, to buy a bottle of sack at a tavern a good way off, and pretending likewise some errand for another soldier, sent him also out of the way; there being now none left to guard the prisoners but the goaler and the third soldier, captain *Irvin* leapt over the hatch-door, and as the goaler leapt after, my father

father knocked him down with his cudgel, While this was doing, Mr. *Stuart* tript up the soldier's heels, and immediately leapt over the hatch. They both mounted, *Stuart* on the horse behind my father, and *Irvin* on the spare one, and in a few minutes came up with their companions at the gate, before the main-guard could arrive, although it were kept within twenty yards of the goal-door.

I should have observed, that as soon as captain *Irvin* and his friend got over the hatch, my father and his comrades put a couple of broad swords into their hands, which they had concealed under their cloaks, and at the same time drawing their own, were all six determined to force their way against any, who offered to obstruct them in their passage; but the dispatch was so sudden, that they got clear out of the gate, before the least opposition could be made. They were no sooner gone, than the town was alarmed; *Coote*, the governor, got out of his bed, and ran into the streets in his *sbirt*, to know what the hubbub meant, and was in a great rage at the accident. The *adventurers* met the governor's groom, coming back with his master's horses from watering; they seized the horses, and got safe to Sir *Robert Stuart's*, about four miles off, without losing one drop of blood in this *bazardous enterprize*.

This gallant person (if I may so presume to call my father) had above twenty children by his wife *Anne Maxwell*, of the family of the earl of *Niddisdale*, of whom I was the

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eldest;

eldest; they all died young, except myself, three other boys, and two girls; who lived to be men and women. My second Brother I took care to have educated at *Glasgow*, but he was drowned at two-and-twenty years old, in a storm, on his return to *Ireland*. The other two died captains abroad, in the service of king *William*.

I was born the *eighth* day of *May*, 1648, at *Castle-fin* in the county of *Donegal*. I made some small progress in learning at the school of *Dungannon*; but when I was eighteen years old, I very inconsiderately married Mrs. *Elizabeth Delgarno*, my school-master's daughter, by whom I have had *thirteen children*, who all died young, except two daughters, married to two brothers, *James* and *Charles Young*, of the county of *Tyrone*.

Having been so very young when I married, I could think of no other course to advance my fortune, than by getting into the army. Captain *Irvin*, often mentioned already, had a brother who was a *physician* at *Edinburgh*, to whom he wrote in my favour, desiring he would recommend me to the marquis of *Atboll* and others, then at the head of affairs in *Scotland*; this was in the year 1674. There were then, but one troop of horse-guards (whereof the marquis was colonel) and one regiment of foot-guards, commanded by the earl of *Linlithgow*, in that kingdom; and they consisted chiefly of gentlemen.

Dr. *Irvin*, physician to the horse-guards, accordingly presented me to the marquis of *Atboll*,

Atboll, requesting that I might be received into his troop. His lordship, pretending there was no vacancy, was, by the doctor, threatened, in a free jesting manner, with a dose of poison, instead of physic, the first time he should want his skill; *Weell, weell then*, quoth the marquis, *what is your friend's name?* *Deel tak' me*, answer the doctor, *gin I ken*; whereupon I was called in, to write my name in the roll. I was then ordered to repair to the troop at *Sterling*, with directions to lieutenant colonel *Cockburn*, the commanding officer, to put me into which of the four squadrons, whereof the troops consisted, he thought fit. He thereupon placed me in his own, and appointed me my quarters.

Soon after this, the *Conventicles* growing numerous in the west, several parties were drawn out to suppress them; among whom I never failed to make one, in hopes thereby to be taken notice of by my commanders; for I had nothing to recommend me, except my *activity, diligence, and courage*, being a stranger, and born out of that kingdom.

My first action, after having been taken into the guards, was, with a dozen gentlemen more, to go in quest of *Mas David Williamson*, a noted *Covenanter*; since made more famous in the book, called the *Scotch Presbyterian eloquence*. I had been assured, that this *Williamson* did much frequent the house of my lady *Gerrytree*, within ten miles of *Edinburg*; but when I arrived first with

my party about the house, the lady, well knowing our errand, put *Williamson* to bed to her daughter, disguised in a woman's night-dress. When the troopers went to search in the young lady's room, her mother pretended that she was not well; and *Williamson* so managed the matter, that when the daughter raised herself a little in the bed, to let the troopers see her, they did not discover him, and so went off disappointed. But the young lady proved with child; and *Williamson*, to take off the scandal, married her in some time after. This *Williamson* married five or six wives successively, and was alive in the reign of queen *Anne*; at which time, I saw him preaching in one of the kirks at *Edinburg*. It is said that king *Charles* the second, hearing of *Williamson's* behaviour in lady *Cherrytree's* house, wished to see the man that discovered so much vigour, while his troopers were in search of him: And, in a merry way, declared, that when he was in the *Royal-Oak*, he could not have kissed the bonniest lass in *Christendom*.

Some time after this, *Thomas Dalziel*, general of the forces in *Scotland*, an excellent soldier, who had been taken prisoner at the famous battle of *Worcester*, and sent prisoner to the *Tower*, escaping from thence into *Muscovy*, was made general to the *Czar*; and returning home, after the *Restoration*, was preferred, by the king, to be general of the forces in *Scotland*, in which post he continued

tinued till his death, which happened a little before the *Revolution*. This general commanded fifty of the foot-guards, with an ensign, to accompany me, and to follow my directions, in the pursuit of a *notorious rebel*, one *Adam Stoborw*, a farmer in *Fife*, near *Colrofs*. This fellow had gone through the West, endeavouring to stir up sedition in the people, by his great skill in *canting* and *praying*. There had been several parties sent over after him, before I and my men undertook the business, but they could never discover him. We reached *Colrofs* at night, where I directed the ensign and all the men to secure three or four *rebels*, who were in the place; while I, with two or three of the soldiers to assist me, went to *Stoborw's house*, about a mile and a half from *Colrofs*, by break of day, for fear some of his friends might give him notice. Before I got to the house, I observed a *kiln* in the way, which I ordered to be searched, because I found there an heap of straw in the passage, up to the *kiln-pot*. There I found *Stoborw* lurking, and carried him to *Colrofs*, although his daughter offered me an hundred *dollars* to let him go. We returned immediately to the general at *Edinburg*, with *Stoborw* and the prisoners taken by the ensign at *Colrofs*. They continued a while in confinement, but *Stoborw*, at his trial, found friends enough to save his life, and was only banished; yet he returned home a year after, and proved as troublesome and seditious as ever, till at the sight of *Bothwell-*

Bridge, it was thought, he was killed, for he was never heard of afterwards.

During the time I was in the guards, about two years after the affair of *Mae David Williamson* at the lady *Cherrytree's*, I was quartered with a party at *Bath-Gate*, which is a small village, twelve miles from *Edinburg*. One Sunday morning, by break of day, I and my comrade, a gallant *Highland gentleman* of the name of *Grant*, went out disguised in *grey coats* and *bonnets*, in search after some *Conventicle*. We travelled on foot, eight or ten miles into the wild mountains, where we spied three fellows on the top of an hill, whom we conjectured to stand there as spies, to give intelligence to a *Conventicle*, when any of the king's troopers should happen to come that way. There they stood, with long poles in their hands, till I and my friend came pretty near, and then they turned to go down the hill: When we observed this, we took a little compass, and came up with them on the other side; whereupon they stood still, leaning on their poles: Then I bounced forward upon one of them, and suddenly snatched the pole out of his hand, asked him why he carried such a pole on the Lord's-day, and at the same time knocked him down with it. My comrade immediately seized on the second, and laid him flat by a gripe of his hair; but the third took to his heels, and ran down the hill. However, having left my friend to guard the two former, I overtook the last, and

and felled him likewise ; but the place being steep, the violence with which I ran carried me a good way down the hill, before I could recover myself, after the stroke I had given ; and by the time I could get up again to the place where he lay, the rogue had got on his feet, and was fumbling for a side-pistol, that hung at his belt, under his upper coat ; which as soon as I observed, I fetched him to the ground a second time with the pole, and seized on his pistol ; then, leading him up to the other two, I desired my friend to examine their pockets, and see whether they carried any powder or ball, but we found none.

We then led our prisoners down the hill, at the foot of which there was a bog, and on the other side a man sitting on a rock ; when we advanced near him, leaving our prisoners in the keeping of my friend, I ran up towards the man, who fled down on the other side. As soon as I had reached the top of the rock, there appeared a great number of people, assembled in a glin, to hear the preaching of Mas *John King*, as I understood afterward, whose voice was so loud, that it reached the ears of those who were at the greatest distance, which could not, I think, be less than a quarter of a mile ; they all standing before him, and the wind favouring the strength of his lungs. When my friend had brought the three prisoners to the top of the rock, where I waited for him, they

they all broke loose and ran down to the *Conventicle*: But my friend advancing within about forty yards of that rabble, commanded them in his majesty's name to depart to their own homes. Whereupon, about forty of their number, with poles in their hands, drew out from the rest, and advanced against us two, who had the *courage*, or rather the *temerity*, to face so great a company, which could not be fewer than a thousand. As this party of theirs was preparing with their long poles to attack me and my friend, it happened very luckily, that a fine *gelding*, saddled and bridled, with a pillion likewise upon him, came up near us, in search for better grass; I caught the horse, and immediately mounted him, which the rest of the *Conventiclers* observing, they broke up and followed as fast as they could, some on horseback, and the rest on foot, to prevent me from going off with the horse; but I put him to the gallop, and suffering him to chuse his own way through the mountain, which was full of *bogs* and *bags*, got out of reach. My friend kept up with me as long as he could, but having run a mile through such difficult places, he was quite spent, and the *Conventiclers* hard at his heels; whereupon he called to me for assistance, and I alighting put him upon the horse, bidding him to make the best of his way to the laird of *Poddislaw's* about two miles off. By this time we saw twelve *Covenanters* on horseback, who

who advanced towards us by a shorter cut, and blocked up a gap, through which we were, of necessity, to pass. I undertook to clear the gap for my friend, and, running towards the rogues with my broad-sword and pistol, soon forced them to open to the right and left: My comrade got through, and was pursued a good way; but he so laid about him with his broad-sword, that the pursuers, being unarmed, durst not seize him. In the mean time, I, who was left on foot, kept the *Covenanters*, who followed me, at a proper distance; but they pelted me with clods, which I sometimes returned, till at last, after chasing me above a mile, they saw a party of troopers in red, passing by, at some distance; and then they gave over their pursuit.

The troopers, observing my friend galloping and pursued, imagined he was some *fanatic preacher*, till they came to an old woman on a hill, whom my friend had desired to deny his being gone that way; upon which they went off to their quarters, and he got safe to *Poddisbarw's*, whither I soon after arrived. The laird of *Poddisbarw* had been that day at church; from whence returning with the laird of *Pocammock*, who lived about a mile off, they both wondered how the horse got thither, for *Pocammock* was the owner of the horse, and his lady had rode on it that day to the *Conventicle*, without her husband's knowledge, having been seduced thither by some *fanatic neighbours*, for she had never
been

been at their meetings before. My friend and I acquainted the two lairds with the whole adventure of that day: And, after dinner, *Pocammock* requested to let him have the horse home, thereby to stifle any *reflexion* his lady might bring upon *him*, or *herself*, by going to a *Conventicle*; he likewise invited us to dine next day at his house, where the horse should again be delivered to me, as justly forfeited by the folly of his wife. We went accordingly with the laird of *Poddisbarw*, and dined at *Pocammock's*, where the horse was ordered to be led out into the court, in the same accoutrements as I found him the day before: But, observing the lady in tears, I told her, that if she would give me her promise, never to go to a *Conventicle* again, I would bestow her the horse, and conceal what had passed; she readily complied, and so the matter was made up. However, the laird her husband assured me, that no horse in *Scotland* should be better paid for; and, being a leading man in the country, and his lady discovering the names of those who had been at the *Conventicle*, he sent for them, and persuaded them, as they valued their quiet, to make up a purse for me and my friend, which they accordingly did; and we both lived plentifully a twelve month after, on the price of that horse.

This adventure, making much noise at *Edinburg*, was the occasion of my being sent for up thither, by the marquis of *Atholl*, my colonel,

colonel, who in a very friendly manner expostulated with me upon my *rashness*, as indeed he had too much reason to do; neither was I able to say any thing in my own justification. However, since what I had done discovered my *loyalty* for my *prince*, my *zeal* for the *church*, and my *detestation* of all *rebellious principles*; his lordship ever after gave me many marks of his friendship.

Accordingly, these services gave me so much credit with the general, that he promised to apply to the government, in my favour, for some preferment in the army, upon the first opportunity, which happened about a year afterwards. For the seditious humours in the west still encreasing, it was thought proper, that three *independent troops* of *horse*, and as many *dragoons*, should be raised to suppress the *rebels*. Whereupon Mr. *Francis Stuart*, grandson to the earl of *Bothwell*, a private gentleman in the horse-guards, like myself, and my intimate acquaintance, was sent for, in haste, by the general; because the council of *Scotland* was then writing to the king, that his majesty would please to grant *commissions* to those persons, whose *names* were to be sent up to *London*, that very night. Mr. *Stuart* gave me notice of this: Whereupon, although I was not sent for, I resolved to go up with him to *Edinburg*, and solicit for myself. When I arrived there, and attended the general, his first question was, in a humorous manner,

manner, *Wha the Deel sent for you up?* I answered, that I hoped his excellency would now make good his promise, of preferring me, since so fair an opportunity offered at present. On this occasion, the general stood my firm friend, and although the *sons and brothers of lords and baronets*, and other persons of *quality*, solicited to be made *lieutenants and cornets*, in these new raised troops, yet the general, in regard to my services, prevailed with the council, that I might be appointed *lieutenant* to Mr. *Stuart*, who was then made *captain of dragoons*.

Soon after this [viz. 3 May, 1679], the *archbishop* of *St. Andrews* was murdered by the lairds of *Hackston* and *Balfour*, assisted by four *poor weavers*. *Hackston*, before this horrid action, was reputed an *honest and gallant man*; but his friendship for his brother-in-law *Balfour* drew him in to commit this *inhuman murder*. *Balfour*, who had been the *archbishop's chamberlain* (for so in *Scotland* we call a great man's steward), whether by *negligence* or *dishonesty*, was short in his payments to his lord; and the fear of being called to an account, was a principal motive to assassinate his master: however, he pretended likewise a great zeal for the *Kirk*, whereof he looked upon the *archbishop* as the greatest *oppressor*. It is certain, that the lower people mortally hated the *archbishop*, on pretence that his grace had deserted their *communion*; And the weavers, who were ac-

complices

CAPT. JOHN CREICHTON. 181

complices of *Balfour*, believed they did *God service* in destroying an enemy of the *Kirk*; and accordingly all the murderers were esteemed and stiled *saints*, by that *rebellious faction*.

After the murder of the *archbishop*, several parties in the west took up arms, under the leading of *Robert Hamilton*, second son to *Sir William Hamilton*, of *Preston*, the unworthy son of a most worthy father: Whereupon the council met, and sent for *Graham*, then laird of *Clavers*, afterwards created viscount *Dundee*, by king *James* the seventh. This noble person was, at that time, captain of one of those independent troops of horse, which, as I have already mentioned, were raised before the murder of the *archbishop*. The council therefore ordered him to march with a detachment of one hundred and twenty dragoons, and a lieutenant, with his own troop, in pursuit of the *rebels*. *Clavers* was obliged not to open his commission, until he came in sight of them. In his march he took Mas *John King*, one of their principal *preachers*. *Clavers* carried *King* along, until he came in sight of the enemy, at *Drumclog*, eight miles from *Hamilton*. There the *preacher* was guarded by a dragoon-centry, at a little cabbin, on the top of the hill, while *Clavers*, opening his commission, found himself commanded to fight the *rebels*, let their number be ever so great, with those *hundred and twenty dragoons*.

But before I proceed to tell the issue of this affair, I must digress a little upon the subject of *Mas John King*, above-mentioned. When I was in the guards, some time after I had missed *Williamson*, at lady *Cherrytree's* house, the government hearing that this *John King* was beginning to hold his *Conventicles* not far from *Sterling*, where the troop of horse then lay, ordered the commanding officer there, to send a party out to take him, and bring him up to the council. I was pitched upon, with a small detachment, to perform this service. I went to my lord *Cardross's* house, to whose lady *King* was chaplain; there I took him, and delivered him to the council. This *preacher* had gotten the lady's woman with child, about four or five months before, and, it is supposed, had promised her marriage, provided the lady would stand his friend in his present distress; whereupon she was so far his friend, as to get him bailed, on her engaging, he should hold no more *Conventicles*: However, he went to the hills, and there preached the people to arms; and in several towns, as *Kirkubry*, *Lanerick*, and *Sanchar* in particular, in company with *Cameron*, set up *declarations* on the *market-crosses* against the king, whom he *excommunicated*, with all his *adherents*. Thus he continued till *Clavers* took him at *Drumclog*, as is above-mentioned, where he got off again, until I took him a third time, after the battle of *Bothwell-Bridge*,

Bridge, which shall be related in its proper place.

The *rebels* at *Drumclog* were eight or nine thousand strong: Their leader, as I have said before, was *Robert Hamilton*, second brother to the loyal house of *Preston*, but a *profligate*, who had spent all his *patrimony*. There were likewise among them the lairds of *Knockgray* and *Fruah*, with many other gentlemen of fortune, whose names I have forgot. *Clavers's* men, with the addition of some few that came in to him, did not exceed one hundred and eighty; yet, pursuant to his orders, he was forced to fight the enemy; but being so vastly out-numbered, was soon defeated, with the loss of cornet *Robert Graham*, and about eight or ten private troopers. The *rebels* finding the cornet's body, and supposing it to be that of *Clavers*, because the name of *Graham* was wrought in the shirt-neck, treated it with the utmost inhumanity, cutting off the nose, picking out the eyes, and stabbing it through in an hundred places.

Clavers, in his flight towards *Hamilton* and *Glasgow*, rode an horse that trailed his guts for two miles, from the place where the engagement happened; but then overtaking his groom with some led horses, he mounted one of them, and with the remains of his small army escaped to *Glasgow*. The *rebels*, pursuing as far as *Hamilton*, advanced that evening within a mile of *Glasgow*, where they encamped all night. As *Clavers*

was marching after his men up the hill, where he had left Mas *John King*, under the guard of a dragoon (who ran off with the first that fled) *King*, in a sneering way, desired him to stay, and take his prisoner with him.

The rebels being thus encamped within a mile of *Glasgow*, *Clavers* commanded his men in the town, to stand to their arms all night; and having barricadoed the four streets, to prevent the rebels horse from breaking in, ordered me, at sun rise, to march with six dragoons, and discover which way the rebels intended to come into the town. I must here observe, that I, with captain *Stuart's* troop of dragoons, and a battalion of the foot-guards, remained in *Glasgow*, while *Clavers* marched to *Drumclog*, where he was defeated. But to return: I followed the directions which were given me, and having discovered the enemy from a little eminence, I was ordered by *Clavers*, who came to me there, to watch at a small house, where the way divided, and see which of the roads they would take, or whether they separated, and each party took a different way. I stayed until I saw them take two different roads; some by that from whence I came from the town, which was over the *Galligate-Bridge*, and the rest by the *High-Church* and *College*, which was more than twice as far as the first party had to come, and consequently could not both meet at the same time within the town. This was a great advantage to *Clavers*, and his

his little army. That party of the rebels, which took *Galligate-Bridge* road, followed close at the heels, as I returned to reform *Clavers* what course they took.

The broad street was immediately full of them ; but advancing towards the barricade, before their fellows, who followed the other road, could arrive to their assistance, they were valiantly received by *Clavers* and his men, who firing on them at once, and jumping over the carts and cars that composed the barricade, chased them out of the town, but were quickly forced to return, and receive the other party, which, by that time, was marching down by the *High-Church* and *College* ; but when they came within pistol-shot, were likewise fired upon, and driven out of the town. In this action many of the rebels fell, but the king's party lost not so much as one man.

The town's men being too well affected to the rebels, concealed many of them in their houses ; the rest, who escaped, met and drew up in a field behind the *High-Church*, where they stayed until five in the afternoon, it being in the month of *May*, and from thence marched in a body to the same place where they were in the morning, about a mile off the town. *Clavers* and his men expecting they would make a second attack, and discovering by his spies whither they were gone, marched after them ; but, upon sight of our forces, the rebels retired with a strong

rear-guard of horse to *Hamilton*; whereupon *Clavers* returned, and quartered that night in *Glasgow*.

Next morning, the government sent orders to *Clavers* to leave *Glasgow*, and march to *Sterling*, eighteen miles further; and three days after, he was commanded to bring up his party to *Edinburg*. As soon as he quitted *Glasgow*, the rebels returned, and having stayed in that town eight or ten days, encamped on *Hamilton-Moor*, within a mile of *Bothwell-Bridge*, when it was said, that their numbers were increased to fourteen thousand; although bishop *Burnet*, in his *History of his own Times*, most falsely and partially affirms, that they were not more than four thousand, or thereabouts.

The council, finding the rebels daily increasing in their numbers, gave information thereof to the king; whereupon his majesty sent down the duke of *Monmouth*, with a commission, to be *commander in chief*, and to take with him four troops of *English dragoons*, which were quartered on the borders: But these, with the forces in *Scotland*, amounted not to above three thousand. Upon the duke's being made *commander in chief*, general *Dalziel* refused to serve under him, and remained at his lodgings in *Edinburg*, till his grace was superseded, which happened about a fortnight after.

The army was about four miles forward on the road towards *Hamilton*, when the duke
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of *Monmouth* came up, with his *English dragoons*, on *Saturday* the 21st of *June*: from thence the whole forces marched to the *Kirk of Shots*, within four miles of the rebels, where they lay that night. The next morning he marched the army up to an eminence, opposite to the main body of the enemy, who were encamped on the *Moor*.

The general officers, the earl of *Linlithgow*, colonel of the foot-guards, the earl of *Mar*, colonel of a regiment of foot, *Clawers*, the earl of *Hume*, and the earl of *Ayrly*, all captains of horse, the marquis of *Montrose*, colonel of the horse-guards (*Atboll* having been discarded), *Dalbousie*, with many other noblemen, and gentlemen volunteers, attending the duke together, desired his grace to let them know which way he designed to take to come at the enemy; the duke answered, it must be, by *Bothwell-bridge*. Now the bridge lay a short mile to the right of the king's army, was narrow, and guarded with three thousand of the rebels, and strongly barricaded with great stones; but although the officers were desirous to have passed the river, by *easy fords*, directly between them and the rebels, and to march to their main body on the *Moor*, before those three thousand, who guarded the bridge, could come to assist them; yet the duke was obstinate, and would pass no other way, than that of the *Bridge*.

Pursuant to this *preposterous* and *absurd resolution*, he commanded captain *Stuart* (whose

lieutenant I was), with his troop of dragoons, and eighty musqueteers, together with four small field-pieces, under cover of the dragoons, to beat off the party at the bridge: the duke himself, with *David Lassy* and *Mel-vill*, accompanied us, and ordered the field-pieces to be left at the village of *Botbwell*, within a musket-shot of the bridge: When the duke and his men came near the bridge, the *rebels* beat a parley, and sent over a laird, accompanied with a *Kirk preacher*. The duke asking what they came for? Was answered, 'That they would have the *Kirk* *establisht* in the same manner, as it stood *at the king's restoration*, and that every *subject* should be obliged to take the *solemn league and covenant.*' The duke told them, their demand could not be granted, but sent them back to tell their party, that if they would lay down their arms, and submit to the king's mercy, he would intercede for their pardon.

While this parley lasted, the field-pieces were brought down, and planted over against the bridge, without being perceived by the *rebels*. The messengers returned in a short time, with this answer; *That they would not lay down their arms, unless their conditions were granted them:* Whereupon the dragoons and musqueteers fired all at once upon those who guarded the bridge, and the field-pieces played so warmly, that some hundreds of the *rebels* were slain; the rest flying to the main body, on the *Moor*.

The

The duke, as soon as he had commanded to fire, retired into a *bollow*, from the enemies shot, some say by the persuasion of *Lefly* and *Melwill*, and continued there till the action was over. Then captain *Stuart* ordered the *musqueteers* to make way for the horse to pass the *Bridge*, by casting the stones into the river, which had been placed there to obstruct the passage over it; but the army could not pass in less than *five hours*; and then marched up in order of battle towards the enemy, who waited for them on the *Moor*, confiding in the great superiority of their number. *Clavers* commanded the horse on the *right*, and captain *Stuart* the dragoons on the *left*. The field-pieces were carried in the *centre* of the foot-guards, while the rest of the officers commanded at the head of their men; and the duke, after the enemy was beaten from the *bridge*, rode at the head of the army.

Upon the first fire, the *rebels* horse turned about, and fled upon the *right* and *left*; and although the duke ordered his men not to stir out of their ranks to pursue them, yet the army, not regarding his commands, followed the flying *rebels*, killing between seven and eight hundred, and taking fifteen hundred prisoners. Sir *John Bell*, provost of *Glasgow*, as soon as he saw the *rebels* fly, rode into the town; from whence, in a few hours, he sent all the bread he could find, together with an hogshead of drink to each troop and company in the army, out of the

cellars of such *town's-men* as were found to be abettors or protectors of the *rebels*.

The *cruelty* and *presumption* of that *wicked* and *perverse* generation will appear evident from a single *instance*. These *rebels* had set up a very large *gallows*, in the middle of their camp, and prepared a *cart-full* of new *ropes* at the foot of it, in order to hang up the king's soldiers, whom they already looked upon as vanquished and at mercy; and it happened, that the pursuers in the *royal army*, returning back with their prisoners, chose the place where the gallows stood, to guard them at, without offering to hang one of them, which they justly deserved, and had so much reason to expect. The pursuers were no sooner returned, and the whole action over, than general *Dalziel* arrived at the camp from *Edinburg*, with a commission renewed to be *Commander in chief*, which he received that very morning by an express. This commander having learned how the duke had conducted the war, told him publicly, and with great plainness, that he had *betrayed the King*; that he heartily wished his commission had come a day sooner, *for then*, said he, *these rogues should never have troubled his Majesty, or the kingdom any more*.

Thus the duke was at the same time superseded, and publicly rebuked before all the army; yet his grace forgot his dignity so far, as to *sneak* among them at the town of
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of *Bothwell* (where the forces encamped) until the *Saturday* following; then all the troops marched back to *Glasgow*, from whence in two or three days they were sent to their several quarters; after which the duke of *Monmouth* passed by *Sterling* to *Fife* to visit the duke of *Rothes*.

The same evening after the rout on the *Moor*, the prisoners were sent with a strong guard towards *Edinburg*. On *Saturday* Morning, when the army was to march to *Glasgow*, I desired the general's leave to go with twelve dragoons, in search of some of the rebels, who might probably pass the *Clyde*, about *Dunbarton*, to shelter themselves in the *Highlands*. With these dragoons, clad in grey coats and bonnets, I made haste down the side of the river; and about midnight, after travelling twenty four miles, I came to a church, and while the soldiers stayed to refresh their horses in the church-yard, I spied a country-fellow going by, and asked him in his own dialect, *Whither gang ye this time of night?* He answered, *Wha are ye that speers?* I replied, *We are your ane fo'ke:* Upon this the fellow came up, and told me, there were eighteen friends, with horses, at an old castle, waiting for a boat to pass over into the isle of *Arran*. I mounted the man behind one of my dragoons, and went towards the place: But the rebels, not finding a boat, were gone off, and the guide dismissed. There was a great dew on the grass, which directed me and my party to fol-

low the track of their horses, for three or four miles, till the dew was gone off; I then enquired of a *cow-herd* on a hill, whether he saw any of our *poor fo'ke* travelling that way; he answered, that they had separated on that hill, and gone three several ways, six in a party; adding, that in one party there was a *bra, muckle kerl*, with a *white bat* on him, and a great bob of ribbons on the cock o't. Whereupon I sent four of my *dragoons* after one party, four more after another; and myself, with the remaining four, went in pursuit of him with the *white bat*. As I went forward, I met another *cow-herd*, who told me, that the fellow with the *bat*, and one more (for as the *rogues* advanced further into the *West*, they still divided into smaller parties), were just gone down the hill, to his master's house. The good man of the house, returning from putting the horses to grass in the garden, was going to shut the door; whereupon myself and two of the *dragoons* commanded him, with our pistols at his breast, to lead us to the room where the man lay, who wore a *white bat*. We entered the room, and before he awaked, I took away his arms, and commanded him to dress immediately: Then finding his companion asleep in the *barn*, I forced him likewise to arise, and mounting them both on their own horses, came at nine o'clock in the morning, with my two prisoners, to the other *dragoons*, at the place where we appointed to meet.

From

CAPT. JOHN CREICHTON. 193

From thence we rode strait to *Glasgow*, and arrived thither about eight in the evening, after a journey of *fifty miles*, since we left the army at *Bothwell* the day before.

This was upon a *Sunday*, and although we met with many hundreds of people on the road, yet we travelled on to *Glasgow* without any opposition. I must here inform the reader, that although I had once before taken this *very man*, who wore the *white hat*, yet I did not know him to be *Mas John King* already mentioned, until I was told so by the man of the house where I found him. I likewise forgot to mention, that *King*, who knew me well enough as soon as he was taken in the house, entreated me to shew him some favour, because he had married a woman of my name; I answered, *That is true, but first you got her with bairn, and shall therefore now pay for disgracing one of my name.*

When we arrived near *Glasgow*, I sent a dragoon to inform the general, that *Mas John King* was coming to kiss his hand; whereupon his excellency, accompanied with all the noblemen and officers, advanced as far as the *bridge*, to welcome me and my prisoners; where it is very observable, that *Graham, laird of Clavers*, who came among the rest, made not the least reproach to *Mas John*, in return of his insolent behaviour, when that commander fled from *Drumclog*. *Mas John* was sent to *Edinburg* next morning, under a guard, and hanged soon after
[viz.

[viz. 14 Aug. 1679]. From hence I went to my quarters in *Lanerick* sixteen miles from *Glasgow*; and about a month after (I hope the reader will excuse my weakness) I happened to dream that I found one *Wilson*, a captain among the *rebels*, at *Bothwell-Bridge*, in a bank of wood, upon the river *Clyde*. This accident made so strong an impression on my mind, that as soon as I awaked, I took six and thirty-dragoons, and got to the place by break of day; then I caused some of them to alight, and go into the wood, and set him up as *bounds do a hare*, while the rest were ordered to stand centry to prevent his escape. It seems I dreamt *fortunately*, for *Wilson* was actually in the wood, with five more of his company, as we afterwards learned; who all, seeing me and my party advancing, hid themselves in a little island on the river, among the broom that grew upon it. *Wilson* had not the good fortune to escape; for as he was trying to get out of one copse into another, I met him; and guessing by his *good cloaths*, and by the description I had received of him before, that he was the man I looked for, I seized and brought him to my quarters; and from thence immediately conveyed him to *Edinburg*, where he was hanged; but might have preserved his life, if he would have condescended only to say, *God save the King*. This he utterly refused to do, and thereby lost not only his life, but likewise an estate, worth twenty-nine thousand marks *Scots*.

For

For this service, the duke of *Queensbury*, then *High Commissioner* of *Scotland*, recommended me to the king, who rewarded me with the gift of *Wilson's estate*; but although the grant passed the seals, and the *sheriff* put me in *possession*, yet I could neither sell it nor lett it; no body daring, for fear of the rebels who had escaped at *Bothwell-Bridge*, either to *purchase* or *farm* it; by which means I never got a penny by the grant; and at the *Revolution* the land was taken from me and restored to *Wilson's heirs*.

The winter following, general *Dalziel*, with a battalion of the *earl of Linlithgow's* guards, the *earl of Ayrly's* troop of horse, and captain *Stuart's* troop of dragoons, quartered at *Kilmarnock*, in the *West*, fifty miles from *Edinburg*. Here the general one day, happening to look on while I was exercising the troop of dragoons, asked me, when I had done, whether I knew any of my men, who was skilful in praying well in the stile and tone of the *Covenanters*? I immediately thought upon one *James Gibb*, who had been born in *Ireland*, and whom I made a dragoon. This man I brought to the general, assuring his excellency, that, if I had *raked hell*, I could not find his match for his skill in mimicking the *Covenanters*. Whereupon the general gave him five pounds, to buy him a great coat and a bonnet, and commanded him to find out the *rebels*, but to be sure to take care of himself among them. The dragoon went eight miles off that very night,

night, and got admittance into the house of a notorious rebel, pretending he came from Ireland out of *zeal for the cause*, to assist at the *fight of Bothwell-Bridge*, and could not find an opportunity since, of returning to Ireland with safety; he said, he durst not be seen in the day time, and therefore, after bewitching the family with his gifts of praying, he was conveyed in the dusk of the evening, with a guide to the house of the next adjoining rebel; and thus in the same manner, from one to another, till in a month's time he got through the *principal of them in the West*; telling the general, at his return, that wherever he came, he made the old wives, in their devout fits, *tear off their big-gonets and mutches*; he likewise gave the general a list of their names and places of their abodes, and into the bargain brought back a good purse of money in his pocket. The general desired to know how he had *prayed* amongst them; he answered, that it was his custom in his prayers, to send the *king, the ministers of state, the officers of the army, with all their soldiers, and the episcopal clergy, all broad-side to hell*; but particularly the *general himself*: *What*, said the general, *did you send me to hell, Sir?* *Yea*, replied the dragoon, *you at the head of them as their leader*.

And here I do solemnly aver, upon my *veracity and knowledge*, that *Bishop Burnet*, in the *History of his own Times*, hath, in a most false and scandalous manner, misrepresented

sented the action at *Bothwell Bridge*, and the behaviour of the *episcopal clergy in Scotland*: For, as to the former, I was *present* in that engagement, which was performed in the manner I have related; and as to the latter, having travelled through most parts of that kingdom, particularly the *North* and *West*, I was well acquainted with them, and will take it to my death, that the reverse of this character, which *Burnet* gives of both, is the truth.

And because that author is so unjust to the *episcopal clergy*, and so partial to the *Covenanters* and their *teachers*, I do affirm, that I have known several among the latter sort guilty of those very vices, wherewith this bishop brands the *episcopal clergy*. Among many others, I will produce one instance, rather to divert the reader, than from any *obloquy*. One of those eight *sanatick teachers*; who were permitted, at the *Restoration*, to keep their livings, came to Sir *John Carmichael's house*, within a mile of *Lanerick*, where I was then upon a visit to Sir *John*. We drank hard till it was late; and all the company retired, except Sir *John* and myself. The *teacher* would needs give us *prayers*, but fell asleep before he had half done; whereupon Sir *John* and I, setting a bottle and glass at his *nose*, left him upon his *knees*. The poor man sneaked off early the next morning, being, in all appearance, ashamed of his *hypocrisy*.

To return from this digression. The general sent out several parties, and me with a party

party among the rest ; where, during the *winter*, and the following *spring*, I secured many of those, whose names and abodes the *canting dragoon* had given a list of.

In *July* following, the general, by order of council, commanded me to go, with a *detachment of thirty horse and fifty dragoons*, in pursuit of about one hundred and fifty *rebels*, who had escaped at *Bothwell-Bridge*, and ever since kept together in a body, up and down in *Galloway*. I followed them for five or six days, from one place to another ; after which, on the 22d of *July*, they stayed for me at *Airs-Moss*, situate in the shire of *Air*, near the town of *Cumlock*. The *Moss* is four miles long from *East* to *West*, and two broad. The *rebels* drew up at the *East* end, and consisted of thirty horse and one hundred and twenty foot. I faced them upon a rising ground with my thirty horse and fifty dragoons. The reason why the *rebels* chose this place to fight on, rather than a plain field, was for fear their *horse* might desert the *foot*, as they did on *Hamilton-Moor*, near *Bothwell-Bridge* : And likewise, that, in case they lost the day, they might save themselves by retreating into the *Moss*.

I placed myself on the *left*, as judging, that the best officer the *rebels* had would command on the *right*. The action began about five in the afternoon, but lasted not long ; for I ordered my men first to receive the enemy's fire, then to ride down the hill upon them, and use their broad swords :

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They did so, and before the enemy had time to draw theirs, cut many of them down in an instant ; whereupon they wheeled about, and *captain Fowler*, who commanded the *rebels* on the *right*, being then in the *rear*, advancing up to me, I gave him such a blow over the head with my broad-sword, as would have cleaved his skull, had it not been defended by a *steel-cap*. *Fowler*, turning about, aimed a blow at me, but I warded it off, and with a back stroke cut the upper part of his head clean off, from the nose upwards.

By this time the *rebels*, leaving their horses, fled to the *Moss* ; but the *royalists* pursuing them, killed about sixty, and took fourteen prisoners. Here *Cameron*, the famous *Covenantanter*, lost his life ; and *Haxton* was taken prisoner, infamous for embruining his hands in the blood of the *archbishop of St. Andrews*, as I have already mentioned ; for which *paricide*, both his hands were afterwards cut off, and he was hanged at *Edinburg*.

But this victory cost me very dear ; for being then in the *rear*, I rode into the *Moss* after the *rebels*, where I overtook a dozen of them, hacking and hewing one of my men, whose horse was *bogged* ; his name was *Elliot*, a stout soldier ; and one of *Clawers's troop*. He had received several wounds, and was at the point of being killed, when I came to his relief. I shot one of the *rogues* dead with my *carbine*, which obliged the rest to let the poor man and his horse creep out of the
hole ;

hole ; but at the same time drew all their fury upon myself ; for *Elliot* made a shift to crawl out of the *Moss*, leading his horse in his hand, but was wholly disabled from assisting his deliverer, and was not regarded by his enemies, who probably thought he was mortally wounded, or indeed rather that they had no time to mind him ; for I laid about me so fast, that they judged it best to keep off, and not to venture within my reach ; till it unfortunately happened, that my horse slipped in the same hole, out of which *Elliot* and his had just got. When they had me at this advantage, they began to shew their courage, and manfully dealt their blows with their broad-swords, from some of which, the *carbine* that hung down my back defended me a little. As I was *paddling in the hole*, the horse not able to get out, one of the *rebels* ran me through the small of the back with his broad sword, and at the same instant two more wounded me under the ribs with their small ones. Then I threw myself over the head of my horse, taking the far pistol out of the holster in my left hand, and holding my broad-sword in my right ; and as one of the *villains* was coming hastily up to me, his foot slipped, and before he could recover himself, I struck my sword into his skull ; but the fellow being big and heavy, snapped it asunder as he fell, within a span of the hilt. The *rebels* had me now at a great advantage : One of them made a stroke at me, which I warded off
with

with the hilt of the sword that was left in my hand ; but the force with which he struck the blow, and I kept it off, brought us both to the ground. However, I got up before him, clapped my pistol to his side, and shot him dead. As soon as this was done, another came behind me, and with some weapon or other struck me such a blow on the head, as laid me flat on my back ; in which posture I remained a good while insensible ; the rogues, taking it for granted that I was dead, scoured off, fearing that by this time, some of my men were returning back from the pursuit.

After some time, I a little recovered my senses, and strove to lift myself up, which one of the rogues happening to see at some distance, immediately returned, and said in my hearing, *God, the dog is no deed yet :* Then coming up to me, took his sword, and putting its hilt to his breast, and guiding it with both his hands, made a thrust at my belly ; but my senses were now so far recovered, that I parryed the thrust with a piece of the sword which remained still in my hand. The fellow, when he missed his aim, almost fell on his face ; for the sword ran up to the hilt in the mois ; and as he was recovering himself, I gave him a dab in the mouth with my broken sword, which very much hurt him ; but he aiming a second thrust, which I had likewise the good fortune to put by, and having as before given him another dab in the mouth, he immediately went off, for fear of
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the pursuers, whereof many were now returning.

In this distress, I made a shift, with much difficulty and pain, to get upon my feet, but my *right leg* being disabled by the wound I received from the broad-sword, I was forced to limp by the help of the carbine, which I made use of as a staff. I had lost my *horse*; for one of the *rogues*, when I had quitted him in the *hole*, led him away through the *Moss*. I recovered him about a year after from the man to whom the *rebel* had sold him; and the said *rebel*, when he was at the *gallows*, confessed himself to be the same man, who took away the horse at *Airs-Moss*,

There was a *Lancashire gentleman*, one Mr. *Parker*, who came volunteer to *Airs-moss*, with intent, as he expressed himself, to *see the sport*. This gentleman, riding on my *right hand*, at the time when we received the enemy's fire, in the beginning of the action, was shot with a *blunderbuss* under the *left shoulder*; the wound was so large, that a man might thrust his fist into it: Yet when I desired him to fall back, and take care of his wound, he answered me, that he would first have his *penny-worth* out of the *rogues*; and accordingly followed us on *horseback* into the *Moss*, as far as the horse could go without *bogging*. But, by that time, his wound so grievously pained him, with some other cuts he got in the pursuit, that he was forced to alight and sit on a dry spot of ground, which he found in the *Moss*, from whence he saw all that

that happened to me, without being able to come to my assistance, any more than *Elliot* ; who, having gotten to a rising ground, saw likewise all that had passed. However Mr. *Parker*, as I came limping towards him, could not forbear *laughing*, and said, *What a plague, have you got your bones well paid too ?* Then both of us made a shift to get up to *Elliot* on the rising ground.

The *trumpeter* being by this time returned with some others, from the pursuit, was ordered to sound a call, which brought all the rest back, with the fourteen prisoners and *Haxton* among the rest, who was that day *Commander in chief* among the rebels. Of the king's party, but two were killed, Mr. *Andrew Kerr*, a gentleman of *Clavers's own troop*, and one *Mc. Kabe*, a dragoon in captain *Stuart's troop*, where I was lieutenant. The wounded were about eight or nine, besides *Parker* and *Elliot*. *Elliot* died the next day : he, *Kerr*, and *Mc. Kabe*, were honourably buried by Mr. *Brown*, a gentleman who lived hard by, to whose house their bodies were carried after the fight at the *Moss*. An *English* lady, living about eight miles off, took care of Mr. *Parker* ; but he died at her house the year after, of his wounds, very much lamented on account of his *loyalty* and *valour*.

When the fight was over, night coming on, I ordered all my men, except twelve *dragoons*, whom I kept to attend myself, to march, with the *prisoners* and those who were wounded, to *Douglafs*, fourteen miles off, and to carry
along

along with them *Cameron's head*. In the mean time, I and my party of *dragoons* went, that night, sixteen long miles to *Lanerick*, where the general and all the foot quartered; as well to acquaint him with what had been done, as to have my own wounds taken care of. I sent one of my *dragoons* before me with my message: Whereupon the general himself, although it were after mid-night, accompanied with the earls of *Linlithgow*, *Mar*, *Ross*, *Hume*, and the lord *Dalbousie*, came out to meet me at the gate: *Dalbousie* forced me to lodge in his own *chamber*, to which I was accordingly carried by two of my *dragoons*. After my wounds had been dressed in the presence of this *noble company*, who stood round about me, being very thirsty through the loss of blood, I drank the king's health, and the company's, in a large *glass* of *wine and water*; and then was laid in *Dalbousie's own bed*.

Next day the general leaving *Lanerick*, with the forces under his command, ordered a troop of horse and another of *dragoons* to attend me, till I should be able to travel up to *Edinburg*, for the better conveniency of *physicians* and *surgeons*. My wounds did not confine me to my bed; and in a month's time I went to *Edinburg* on *horseback* by easy stages, where I continued till *Candlemas* following, lingering of the wound I had received by the *broad sword*. My *surgeon* was the son of the same *Dr. Irvin*, who first got me into the guards; but, having unfortunately neglected

neglected to tye a string to the *tent of green cloth*, which he used for the wound, the tent slipped into my body, where it lay under my *navel* seven months and five days, and exceedingly pained me, not suffering me to sleep, otherwise than by taking *soporiferous pills*. When the *tent* was first missing, neither the *surgeon* nor any body else ever imagined that it was lodged in my body; but supposed it to have slipped out of the wound while I slept, and carried away by some *rat*, or other *vermin*: The *tent* lying thus in my body, made it impossible that the wound could heal: Wherefore, after lingering seven months, by the advice of a gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, I got leave to go for *Ireland*, with my *surgeon*, and there try whether my *native air* would contribute any thing to my cure.

However insignificant this relation may be to the generality of *readers*, yet I cannot omit a lucky accident to which I owe my cure. While I continued at *Edinburg*, I ordered some *pipes of lead* to be made in a *mold*, through which the thin *corruption*, which continually issued out of the wound, caused by the *tent* remaining in my body, might be conveyed as through a *soffet*. These *pipes* I cut shorter by degrees, in proportion as I imagined the wound was healing at the bottom; till at last, by mistaking the true cause, the *tent* continuing still where it did, the *pipes* became too short for the use intended; wherefore, when I was in *Ireland*, I made a coarse pipe myself, which was long enough: This

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pipe,

pipe, after the wound was washed with brandy, always remained in my body till the next dressing; but, being made without art, and somewhat jagged at the end, it happened one morning, when the pipe was drawn out as usual, in order to have the wound washed, the tent followed, to the great surprize of my father, who, at that time, was going to dress the wound; my surgeon being then at *Casfile-
Irvin*, where I had left him with his brother Dr. *Irvin*, at Sir *Gerard Irvin's* house; the same gentleman who was delivered out of *Derry-goal* by my father, as I have related in the beginning of these memoirs.

The night before the tent was drawn out of my body, having not slept a wink, I thought myself in the morning somewhat feverish, and therefore desired my father to send for Dr. *Lindsey*, to let me blood. In the mean time, slumbering a little, I dreamed that the *Covenanters* were coming to cut my throat; under this apprehension I awaked, and found my neighbour captain *Saunderson* in my chamber, who was come to visit me. I then called for my father to dress my wound; when the tent followed the pipe, as I have already said, to my great joy, for then I knew I should soon be well. I therefore ordered my horse to be got ready, and rode out with captain *Saunderson* and my father, to meet Dr. *Lindsey*, who, hearing the joyful news, carried us to a gentleman's house, where we drank very heartily: Then I returned home, and slept almost twenty-four
hours.

hours. Two days after, Dr. *Irwin* and his brother, the surgeon, came to my father's house, where the doctor being informed in the circumstances of my cure, severely chid his brother for his neglect; swearing he had a mind to shoot him, and that, if I had died, my blood would have been charged on his head. He then ordered me a remedy, which would then heal up the wound in twenty days. This fell out in the beginning of *May*, at which time taking leave of my father and other friends in *Ireland*, I returned to *Edinburg*, where, before the end of that month, my wound was perfectly healed up; but I was never afterwards so able to bear fatigues as I had hitherto been.

The duke of *York* was arrived at *Edinburg* the *Michaelmas* before, where the general, from the time he left *Lanerick* in *July*, continued with the guards; the rest of the forces quartering up and down in other places. The general, after my arrival, coming every day to see me, in his way, as he went to the duke's court, did me the honour to mention me and my services to his royal highness, who was desirous to see me; I was admitted to kiss his hand, and ordered to sit down, in regard to my honourable wounds, which would not suffer me to stand, without great pain. I cannot conceal this mark of favour and distinction, shewn me by a great prince, although I am very sensible it will be imputed to vanity. I must remember likewise, that upon my return to *Edinburg*, happening to

overtake the general in the street, and gently touching him, his excellency turning in a great surprize, cried out, *O God, man, are you living?* I answered that I was, and hoped to do the king and his excellency further service.

After I had continued a month with my friends in *Edinburg*, who all congratulated with me upon my recovery, I repaired to the troop at *Lanerick*, where I often ranged with a party through the west, to find out the stragling remains of the covenanting rebels, but for some time without success, till a week before *Christmas*, after the duke of *York* succeeded to the crown, and a year and half after I was cured. Having drank hard one night, I dreamed that I had found captain *David Steele*, a notorious rebel, in one of the five farmers houses on a mountain in the shire of *Clidesdale*, and parish of *Lismabego*, within eight miles of *Hamilton*, a place that I was well acquainted with. This man was head of the rebels, since the affair of *Airs-Moss*, having succeeded to *Haxton*, who had been there taken, and afterwards hanged, as the reader has already heard: For, as to *Robert Hamilton*, who was their commander in chief at *Bothwell-Bridge*, he appeared no more among them, but fled, as it was believed, to *Holland*.

Steele, and his father before him, held a farm in the estate of *Hamilton*, within two or three miles of that town. When he be-
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took himself to arms, the farm lay waste, and the duke could find no other person, who would venture to take it: whereupon his grace sent several messengers to *Steele*, to know the reason why he kept the farm waste. The duke received no other answer, than that he would keep it waste, in *spight* of him and the *King* too; whereupon his grace, at whose table I had always the honour to be a welcome guest, desired I would use my endeavours to destroy that rogue, and I would oblige him for ever.

I must here take leave to inform the reader, that the duke of *Hamilton's* friendship for me, was founded upon the many services he knew I had done the publick, as well as upon the relation I bore to Sir *Gerard Irvin*, the person whom of all the world his grace most loved and esteemed, ever since the time they had served in arms together for the *King*, in the *Higblands*, with my lord *Glankern* and Sir *Arthur Forbes* (father to the present earl of *Granard*), after the king's defeat at *Worcester*, during the time of the *Usurpation*.

To return therefore to my story; when I awaked out of my dream, as I had done before in the affair of *Wilson* (and I desire the same apology I made in the introduction to these memoirs may serve for both), I presently rose, and ordered thirty-six dragoons to be at the place appointed by break of day. When we arrived thither, I sent a party to each of the five farmers houses. This villain *Steele* had murdered above forty of the king's

subjects *in cold blood*; and, as I was informed, had often laid snares to *entrap me*; but it happened, that although he usually kept a gang to attend him, yet at this time he had none, when he stood in the greatest need. One of my party found him in one of the farmer's houses, just as I happened to *dream*. The *dragons*, first, searched all the rooms below without success, till two of them hearing somebody stirring over their heads, went up a pair of *turnpike stairs*. Steele had put on his cloaths, while the search was making below: The chamber where he lay was called the chamber of *Deese*, which is the name given to a room, where the *laird* lies when he comes to a *tenant's house*. Steele, suddenly opening the door, fired a *blunderbuss* down at the *dragons*, as they were coming up the *stairs*; but the *bullets*, grazing against the side of the *turnpike*, only wounded, and did not kill them. Then *Steel* violently threw himself down the *stairs* among them, and made towards the door to save his life, but lost it upon the spot; for the *dragons* who guarded the house dispatched him with their *broad swords*. I was not with the *party* when he was killed, being at that time employed in searching at one of the other four houses, but I soon found what had happened, by hearing the noise of the shot made with the *blunderbuss*: From hence I returned strait to *Lanerrick*, and immediately sent one of the *dragons* express to general *Drummond* at *Edinburg*.

CAPT. JOHN CREICHTON. 211

General *Dalziel* died about *Michaelmas* this year, and was succeeded by lieutenant general *Drummond*, who was likewise my very good friend.

But I cannot here let pass the death of so brave and loyal a commander as general *Dalziel*, without giving the reader some account of him, as far as my *knowledge*, or *enquiry*, can reach:

Thomas Dalziel, among many other officers, was taken prisoner at the unfortunate defeat at *Worcester*, and sent to the *Tower*; from whence, I know not by what means, he made his escape, and went to *Muscovy*; where the *Czar*, then reigning, made him his *General*: But some time after the *Restoration* of the royal family, he gave up his commission, and repairing to king *Charles* the second, was, in consideration of his eminent services, constituted *Commander in chief* of his Majesty's forces in Scotland; in which post he continued till his death, excepting only one *fortnight*, when he was superseded by the duke of *Monmouth*, some days before the action at *Bothwell-bridge*, as I have already related. He was bred up very *hardy* from his youth, both in *dyet*, and *cloathing*. He never wore *boots*, nor above one *coat*, which was close to his body, with close *sleeves*, like those we call *jockey-coats*. He never wore a *peruke*; nor did he shave his *beard* since the murder of king *Charles* the first. In my time, his *head* was *bald*, which he covered only with a *beaver-bat*, the *brim* of which was not above
three

three inches broad. His *beard* was white and *busby*, and yet reached down almost to his *girdle*. He usually went to *London* once or twice in a year, and then only to kiss the *King's hand*, who had a great esteem for his *worth* and *valour*. His unusual *dress* and *figure*, when he was in *London*, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys, and other young people, who constantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with *buzzas*, as he went to *court*, or returned from it. As he was a *man of humour*, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door, to go into the king; and would let them know exactly, at what hour he intended to come out again, and return to his lodgings. When the *King* walked in the *Park*, attended by some of his *courtiers*, and *Dalziel* in his company, the same *crowds* would always be after him, shewing their *admiration* at his *beard* and *dress*, so that the *King* could hardly pass on for the crowd; upon which his majesty bid *the devil* take *Dalziel*, for bringing such a *rabble of boys* together, to have their guts squeezed out, whilst they gaped at his long *beard* and *antick habit*; requesting him, at the same time (as *Dalziel* used to express it), to *shave and dress like other Christians*, to keep the poor *bairns* out of danger: All this could never prevail on him to part with his *beard*, but yet, in compliance to his Majesty, he went once to court in the *very height of the fashion*; but as soon as the *King* and those about him had
laughed

laughed sufficiently at the strange figure he made, he re-assumed his usual *habit*, to the great joy of the boys, who had not discovered him in his fashionable *dress*.

When the duke of York succeeded to the crown, general *Dalziel* was resolved still to retain his *loyalty*, although, at the same time, he often told his friends, that all things were going wrong at court; but death came very seasonably, to rescue him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of *duty to his Prince* on one side, and *true zeal for his religion* on the other.

I must now resume a little of my discourse upon captain *Steele*. Some time before the action in which he was killed, general *Drummond*, who was then newly made *commander in chief* sent for me in haste, to attend him in *Edinburg*: My way lay through a very *strong pass*, hard by *Mrs-Moss*, and within a mile of *Cumlock*: As I was going through *Cumlock*, a friend there told me, that *Steele*, with a *party*, waited for me at the *pass*. I had with me only *one dragoon* and a *drummer*: I ordered the latter to gallop on strait to the *pass*, and when he got thither, to beat a *dragoon-march*, while I with the *dragoon* should ride along the *bye-path*, on the *edge* of the *Moss*. When *Steele* and his men heard the *drum*, they scoured cross the *by-path* into the *Moss*, apprehending that a *strong party* was coming in search of them: But either I, or the *dragoon* (I forgot which), shot one of the *rebels* dead as he crossed us to get into the *Moss*. To put
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an end to this business of *Steele*. When the *dragoon*, whom I sent express, had delivered his message to general *Drummond*, he was just setting out for his country-house at *Dumblain*, but returned to his lodgings, and wrote me a letter, that he would send for me up after the *holydays*, and recommend me to the *government*, to reward me for my *services*. He faithfully kept his word, but I received nothing more than *promises*.

Steele was buried in the church yard of *Lismabego*, by some of his friends; who, after the *Revolution*, erected a fair *monumen*, on *pillars*, over his *grave*, and caused an *epitaph* to be engraved on the *stone*, in words to this effect:

Here lieth the body of Captain David Steele,
a Saint, who was murdered by John
Creighton (with the date underneath).

Some of my friends *burlesqued* this *epitaph*, in the following manner:

Here lies the body of Saint Steele,
Murdered by John Creighton, that Dee'l.

Duke Hamilton, in queen *Anne's* time, informed me of this honour done to that infamous *rebel*; and when I had said to his *Grace*, that I wished he had ordered his *footmen* to *demolish* the *monument*, the duke answered, he would not have done so for *five hundred pounds*, because it would be an honour to me as long as it lasted.

The last *summer*, about the end of *May*, if I remember right (and I desire to be excused for not always relating things in the
order

order when they happened), the marquis of *Argyle*, after having escaped out of the *castle* of *Edinburg*, into *Holland*, returned to invade *Scotland*, to support the duke of *Monmouth's* pretensions to the *Crown*, as was generally believed. He landed in his own country, in the *Highlands*, with a party of *Dutch*, and some *Scottish gentlemen*, who had fled for *treason*; among whom Sir *John Cogheran* was of the greatest note: Whereupon the government ordered the marquis of *Atholl*, and Mr. *Owen Cameron*, laird of *Logheel*, to raise their *clans*, and march with their party against *Argyle*. They did so, and, in the evening, pitched their *camp* close by him. Here, in the night, *Cameron*, *patrolling* with a party, met another of his own men, and taking them for *enemies*, because they had lost the *word*, in their *cups*, killed eight or nine, among whom two or three happened to be persons of note; the friends of those who were killed, resolving, if possible, to have him hanged, he was obliged to ride *post* to the king. He went to his Majesty in the dress he had travelled; and the king, being already informed how the accident happened, instead of suffering him to tell his story, commanded him to draw his *broad-sword*, intending to *knight* him therewith: But *Cameron* could not draw it, because the *scabbard* had got *wet* on the way. The king, observing the *confusion* he was in, said, he knew the reason that kept the *sword* in
the

the *sheath*; adding, that he never failed to draw it, in the *service* of his *father*, his *brother*, and *himself*; whereupon he was *knighted* with another *sword*, with the title of Sir Owen Cameron. He returned to *Edinburgh*, and from thence went as a *volunteer*, to serve in the *standing-army*, which was then moving towards the coast of *Galloway*, to prevent *Argyle* from *landing*. For, upon the *opposition* he found from the marquis of *Atboll*, and his men, with their *assistance* in the *Highlands*, he shipped his forces, and sailed round to the *West*, hoping to land there. But the army moving along the coast, always in sight of him, compelled him to return the way he came, until he landed in his own country again. From thence, after gathering what supplies of men he could, he marched, and encamped in the evening within two or three miles of *Glasgow*. But the king's army, having sent out *scouts*, to discover what way he took, encamped over against him, the same evening, on an *eminence*; there being a *bog* between both *armies*.

The *King's forces* consisted of the earl of *Linlithgow's* regiment of *foot-guards*, the earl of *Mar's* of *foot*, *Clavers's* of *horse*, *Dunmore's* of *dragoons*, *Luchan's* of *foot*, and *Levingston's* of *horse-guards*, with some gentlemen of quality, *volunteers*; among whom the earl of *Dunbarren* was of the greatest note.

Here the two *armies* lay in sight of each other; but, before *morning*, *Argyle* was gone,
his

his *Higblanders* having deserted him; and then the *King's army* went to refresh themselves at *Glasgow*, waiting till it could be known, which way *Argyle* had fled. It was soon understood that he had crossed the *Clyde*, at *Kilpatrick*; and that Sir *John Cogheran* lay with a party, in a *Stone-Dike-Park*, about ten miles off. The lord *Ross* was therefore dispatched, with a party of horse, and captain *Cleland*, who was now my captain (my friend *Stuart* being dead), with another of *dragoons*, to find them out: When they came up to the *Park*, where Sir *John Cogheran* lay with his *Dutch*; they fired at one another, and some of the *King's soldiers* fell, among whom captain *Cleland* was one; whereupon the troop was given to Sir *Adam Blare* (who was likewise wounded in that rash engagement), although, upon duke *Hamilton's* application to the king, I had been promised to succeed *Cleland*. But, Sir *Adam* and secretary *Melford*, being *brothers-in-law*, that interest prevailed.

I must desire the reader's pardon, for so frequently interspersing my own private affairs, with those of the publick; but what I chiefly proposed, was to write my own *Memoirs*, and not a *History of the Times*, further than I was concerned in them.

Night coming on, the *King's party* withdrew, leaving Sir *John Cogheran* in the *Park*, who, notwithstanding this little success, desired his followers to shift for themselves, and left them before morning. *Argyle* next

evening was found alone, a mile above *Greenknock*, at the *water-side*, endeavouring to get into a little boat, and grappling with the owner thereof (a poor *weaver*). It seems he wanted presence of mind, to engage the man with a piece of money, to set him on the other side. In the mean time, Sir *John Shaw*, riding with some gentlemen to *Greenknock*, and seeing the *struggle*, seized the earl, and carried him to *Glasgow*, from whence he was sent with a strong guard to *Edinburg*, and some time after beheaded.

The next day, the army marched towards the borders, against the duke of *Monmouth*, but, an express arriving of his defeat, the troops were commanded to repair to their several quarters.

I shall here occasionally relate an unfortunate accident, which happened this summer in *Scotland*.

Mc. Donnel, laird of *Cappagh* in the *Highlands*, within eight miles of *Inverlogby*, was unjustly possessed, as most men believed, for many years, of an estate, which in right belonged to the laird of *Mackintosh*. Both these gentlemen were well affected to the king. The laird of *Cappagh*, after sowing-time was over, had gone that summer, as it was his custom, to make merry with his *clans*, on the mountains, till the time of harvest should call him home. But in his absence, *Mackintosh*, and his *clans*, assisted with a party of the army, by order from the government, possessed himself of *Cappagh's* estate;

CAPT. JOHN CREIGHTON. 219

tate; whereupon *Mc. Donnel*, and his *clans*, returning from the mountains, set upon the enemy, killed several gentlemen among them, and took *Mackintosh* himself prisoner. *Mc. Donnel* had given strict orders to his men, not to kill any of the army. But captain *Mc. Kenzy*, who commanded on the other side, making a shot at one of *Mc. Donnel's* men, who was pursuing his adversary, the man, discharging his pistol at the captain, shot him in the knee, who, after having been carried fifty miles, to *Inverness*, to a surgeon, died of his wound.

Soon after, the government ordered me to detach sixty dragoons, with a lieutenant, cornet, and standard, and to march with captain *Streighton*, and two hundred of the foot-guards, against the *Mc. Donnels*; to destroy man, woman, and child, pertaining to the laird of *Cappagh*, and to burn his houses and corn. Upon the approach of our party, *Mc. Donnel*, laird of *Cappagh*, dismissing his prisoners, retired farther into the mountains; whereupon we, who were sent against him, continued to destroy all the houses and corn, from the time of *Lammas* to the tenth of *September*: And then we advanced towards the borders, to join the *Scotch* army, which at that time was marching towards *England*, against the prince of *Orange*, who then intended an invasion. We arrived thither the first of *October*, after a march of two hundred miles.

General *Drummond* being then dead, *James Douglass*, brother to the duke of *Queensberry*, succeeded him as commander in chief: And *Graham* laird of *Clawers*, (about this time created lord *Dundee*) was major-general. On the first of *October*, the army passed the *Tweed*, and drew up on the banks, on the *English* side, where the general gave a strict charge to the officers, that they should keep their men from offering the least injury in their march; adding, that, if he heard any of the *English* complain, the officers should answer for the faults of their men; and so they arrived at *Carlisle* that night.

Next day, general *Douglass*, by order from the king, marched the foot, by *Chester*, towards *London*; and *Dundee* the horse, by *York*; to which city he arrived in four or five days. The army did not reach *London* till about the five and twentieth of *October*, being ordered, by the contrivance of *Douglass*, the general, to march slow, on purpose that the prince of *Orange* might land, before the king's forces should grow strong enough to oppose him.

The *Scotch* army, at this time, consisted of four regiments of foot, one of horse, one of dragoons, one troop of horse-guards; and it was computed, that the earl of *Feversham*, who was then general of all the king's forces, had under his command, of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, an army of near thirty thousand men. Soon after the prince's landing, the king

king went to *Salisbury*, with a guard of two hundred horse, commanded by the old earl of *Airly*, two days before the body of the army came up to him. The earl of *Airly*, when he was lord *Ogleby*, had attended the great marquis of *Montrose* in all his actions, for king *Charles* the first, and second. But, at this time, being old, it was reported that he was dead, before the *Scotch* forces went into *England*, to oppose the prince of *Orange*; whereupon the king, believing the report, had given his troop in *Dundee's* regiment to the earl of *Anandale*: But the earl, having overtook the army at *Cambridge* in their march, went on to *London*, and there presenting himself before the king, his majesty was so just and gracious, that he immediately restored his lordship to the troop, ordering him at the same time to command those two hundred men, who attended him down to *Salisbury*.

When all the forces were arrived at *Salisbury*, the earl of *Dunmore* with his regiment of dragoons (wherein I served) was ordered to a pass three miles below the city, where I commanded the guard that night.

The same morning that the army arrived, the great men about the king, as the lord *Churchill*, &c. to the number of thirty, advised his majesty to take the air on horseback, intending, as the earl of *Dunmore* was informed, to give up their master to the prince: But the king, probably suspecting the design, returned in haste to the city. Next night, at a council of war, called to

consult what was fittest to be done in the present juncture of affairs, the very same great men swore to stand by his majesty with their lives and fortunes; and as soon as he was gone to rest, mounting on horseback, they all went over to the prince, except the earl of *Feverſham*, *Dunbarton*, and a very few more: For the earl of *Dunbarton* going to his majesty, for orders, at four of the clock in the morning, found they were all departed.

Those few who stayed with the king, advised his majesty to return immediately to *London*; and the lord *Dundee* was ordered to bring up the *Scotch* horse and dragoons, with the duke of *Berwick's* regiment of horse, to *Reading*, where he joined *Dunbarton* with his forces, and continued there nine or ten days. They were, in all, about ten thousand strong. General *Douglafs*, with his regiment of foot-guards, passing by *Reading*, lay at *Maidenhead*; from whence, one of his battalions revolted to the prince, under the conduct only of a corporal, whose name was *Kemp*. However, *Douglafs* assured the king, that this defection happened against his will; and yet, when the officers were ready to fire upon the deserters, his compassion was such, that he would not permit them.

After this, the earl of *Dunbarton*, and the lord *Dundee*, with all the officers who adhered to the king, was ordered to meet his majesty at *Uxbridge*, where he designed to fight the prince: The earl of *Feverſham* got thither

thither before the king and the army arrived. When the forces drew together, every party sent an officer to the earl of *Feverſham*, to receive his commands. I attended his lordship from my lord *Dundee*, and was ordered with the reſt to wait till the king came to dinner, his majeſty being expected within half an hour; but it fell out otherwiſe: For the earl, to his great ſurprize, received a letter from the king, ſignifying, that his majeſty was gone off, and had no further ſervice for the army. When I carried this news to my lord *Dundee*, neither his lordſhip nor the lords *Linlithgow* and *Dunmore* could forbear falling into tears: After which, being at a loſs what courſe to take, I ſaid to my lord *Dundee*, that, as he had brought us out of *Scotland*, he ſhould convey us thither back again in a body; adding, that the forces might lye that night at *Watford*, ſix miles off: My advice was followed, and I went before to get billets, where to quarter the men. My lord *Dundee* ordered all to be ready at ſound of trumpet, and to unbridle their horſes no longer than while they were eating their oats. The townſmen contrived to give out a report, before day, that the prince of *Orange* was approaching, hoping to afright us away with a falſe alarm: Whereupon we marched out, but, at the ſame time, drew up in a ſtrong encloſure, at the town's end: reſolving to fight the prince, if he ſhould advance towards us. My lord

Dundee dispatched me immediately, to discover whether the report of the prince's approach were true; but I only met a messenger with a letter from his highness to my lord *Dundee*, which I received and delivered to his lordship. The contents of it, as far as I am able to recollect, were as follow :

“ My Lord DUNDEE,

“ I understand you are now at *Watford*,
 “ and that you keep your men together; I
 “ desire you may stay there till farther orders, and, upon my honour, none in my
 “ army shall touch you.

“ W. H. Prince of ORANGE.”

Upon the receipt of this *letter*, our forces returned into the town, set up their *horses*, and refreshed themselves. About three in the afternoon, there came *intelligence*, that the king would be at *Whitehall* that night, having returned from *Feversham*, whither he had fled in *disguise*, and was ill-treated by the *rabble* before they discovered him. Upon this incident, the lords *Dundee*, *Dunmore*, *Linlithgow*, and myself, who desired leave to go with my colonel, took horse; and, arriving at *Whitehall* a little after the king, had the honour to kiss *his majesty's* hand.

The next morning, the earl of *Feversham* was sent, by the king, with some *proposals* to the

the prince of *Orange*, who was then at *Windsor*, where his lordship was put in *arrest* by the *prince's* command, who sent the marquis of *Halifax*, the earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the lord *Delamair* (if I rightly remember), to the king, with his *highness's* order, that his majesty should *remove* from *Whitehall*, next day, before *twelve o'clock*. This order was given about one in the morning: At the same time, a *barge* was brought to *Whitehall-Stairs*, and a *Dutch* guard set about the king, without his knowledge, but with *directions* to see him safe, if he had a mind to go on board any *ship*, in order to his escape. A *ship*, it seems, was likewise prepared, and his majesty, attended by the lords *Dunmore*, *Arran* and *Middleton*, went on board; and then the three lords returned to *London*. The *prince* arrived at *St. James's* about *two hours* after his majesty's departure; and the earl of *Arran* went, among the rest, to attend his highness, to whom being introduced, he told the prince, that the king, his master, had commanded him, upon his departure, to wait upon his highness and receive his commands. The prince replied, he was glad to see him, and had an esteem for him and *all men of honour*. Then, turning aside to some other persons who were making their court, Dr. *Burnet*, soon after made bishop of *Salisbury*, who had been the earl of *Arran's* governor, coming up to his lordship, cried, *Ay, my lord Arran, you are now come in, and think to make a merit when the work*

is done. To this insult the earl, in the hearing of many, replied only, *Come, Doctor, we ken one another weel enough.* And the earl's own father told the prince, that, if this young fellow were not secured, he would, perhaps, give his highness some trouble. Whereupon this noble young lord was sent to the *Tower*, where he continued about a year, and then returned to *Scotland*: And soon after, the young lord *Forbes*, now earl of *Granard*, was likewise imprisoned in the same place. King *William* had made several advances to his lordship, as he did to many other persons of quality, to engage him in his service; and sending for him one day, asked him why he did not take care of his regiment? My lord *Forbes*, not being provided on a sudden with a better answer, told the king, that, having been born in *Ireland*, he had not credit enough, he believed, to raise men to fill up the places of the papists in his regiment. King *William* thereupon said, he would take that charge upon himself. Lord *Forbes*, having now recollected himself, said, he had likewise another reason why he found it necessary to decline his service, but was unwilling to mention it, not having the least intention to disoblige his highness. The prince desired that he might do it freely, and it should not disoblige him; whereupon my lord said, that, having sworn to retain his *loyalty* to king *James*, he could not, in *honour* and *conscience*, without his *master's permission*, enter into the *service* of another prince,

prince, during his majesty's life. Whereupon king *William*, soon after, thought it proper to send him to the *Tower*; but, however, was so generous, as, in the time of his confinement, to send one of the clerks of the treasury, with an order to pay him two hundred pounds, as very reasonably thinking, that, under the loss of his regiment, as well as of his rents in *Ireland*, he might want money to support himself. My lord *Forbes* (having asked the clerk, by whose direction he brought that sum, and the other answering, that he was only ordered to pay the money to his lordship, and to take his receipt) conjectured this present to have proceeded from king *William*; and therefore desired the clerk to present his most humble respects and thanks to his highness, and to let him know, that, as he had never done him any service, he could not, in honour, receive any marks of his bounty.

Upon this subject I must add one more particular, that, when my lord *Forbes* arrived with his regiment out of *Ireland*, and attended on king *James*, he advised his majesty to fight the prince upon the first opportunity after his landing, before his party should grow strong: But those about the king, who had already engaged in the other interest, would not suffer that advice to be followed.

I now return to my lord *Dundee*, and my lord *Dunmore*. Their lordships acted no

longer as colonels, when they understood that the prince intended to place himself on the throne during his majesty's life: But the first, with the twenty-four troopers, who followed him up from *Watford*, left *London*, and repaired, with the utmost expedition, to his own castle; and the second, some time after, to *Edinburg*; lying both quiet, until the convention of the states of *Scotland* was called.

After their lordships were gone to *Scotland*, I went to *Watford*, where my lord *Kilfythe*, as lieutenant colonel, commanded the lord *Dunmore's* regiment of dragoons; the rest of the army, which had been there, being gone to other places. Then major-general *Mc. Coy* ordered the lord *Kilfythe* to march the regiment from place to place, until they should come to *Congerton*, a town in *Cheshire*. Here they quartered, when the prince and princess of *Orange* were proclaimed king and queen of *England*, &c. by the sheriff and three or four bailiffs. It happened to be a very stormy day; and when the sheriff had done his office, a crack-brained fellow, at the head of a great rabble, proclaimed the duke of *Monmouth* king, to the great diversion of the regiment, not believing he had been beheaded.

When my lord *Dundee* refused to serve the prince of *Orange*, Sir *Thomas Levingston*, of my lord *Kilfythe's* family, got the regiment. This gentleman was born in *Holland*,
and

and often used to raise recruits in *Scotland*; upon which account, he was well known to the regiment. He came down post to *Congerton*, and at supper told the officers, that he was sent to know, which of them would serve king *William*, and which would not? Now, the oath of allegiance to that prince having not been offered to that regiment, one of the company answered; that we, having sworn allegiance to king *James*, could not, in conscience and honour, draw our swords against him: Whereupon Sir *Thomas*, drinking an health to king *James*, upon his knees, answered, that he wished he might be damned, whenever he should command them to break that oath. And, in order to ingratiate himself further with the regiment, added, that he would return to *London* next day, for a command to march them straight to *Scotland*, where their wives and friends were; and likewise to procure a captain's commission for me, since Sir *Adam Blaire*, who commanded the troop in which I was lieutenant, had refused to serve king *William*; both which he accordingly obtained.

When he returned from *London*, he marched with the regiment directly through *Berwick* into *Scotland*; and as they passed by *Edinburg* (the castle whereof was kept for king *James*, by the duke of *Gordon*), Sir *Thomas* and my lord *Kilsyth* went into the town, to receive duke *Hamilton's* commands, who was then high commissioner; and some
other

other officers went in at the same time, to see their wives and friends.

The duke asked Sir *Thomas*, where I was; and, being informed that I was gone to *Sterling*, desired I might be sent for. Upon my attending his grace, he was pleased to say, that he had been always my friend; and that now he had it in his power to provide for me, if I would be true to my trust (for he supposed I had taken the oath to king *William*); and, upon my answer, that I would be true to what I had sworn, the duke replied, it was very well.

Upon this occasion, and before I proceed further, I think it will be proper to make some apology for my future conduct; because I am conscious, that many people, who are in another interest, may be apt to think and speak hardly of me: But I desire they would please to consider, that the revolution was then an event altogether new, and had put many men much wiser than myself at a loss how to proceed. I had taken the oath of allegiance to king *James*; and, having been bred up under the strictest principles of loyalty, could not force my conscience to dispense with that oath, during his majesty's life. All those persons of quality in *Scotland*, to whom I had been most obliged, and on whom I chiefly depended, did still adhere to that prince. Those people, whom, from my youth, I had been taught to abhor; whom, by the commands of my superiors, I had constantly treated as rebels; and who, consequently,

quently, conceived an irreconcilable animosity against me; were, upon this great change, the highest in favour and employments. And lastly, the established religion in *Scotland*, which was episcopal, under which I had been educated, and to which I had always borne the highest veneration, was utterly destroyed in that kingdom (although preserved in the other two); and the presbyterian kirk, which had ever been my greatest aversion, exalted in its stead.

Upon all these considerations, I hope every candid reader will be so just to believe, that, supposing me in an error, I acted at least sincerely, and according to the dictates of my conscience; and, as it is manifest, without any worldly view: For I had then considerable offers made me, and in all probability should have been greatly advanced, if I could have persuaded myself to accept them.

Having said thus much to excuse my conduct from that time forward, I shall now proceed to relate facts and passages, just as they happened; and avoid, as much as possible, giving any offence.

My lord *Dunmore* being then at *Edinburg*, I thought it my duty to pay my respects to his lordship, who had been also my colonel. He was pleased to invite me to dine with him that day at a tavern; where, he said, lieutenant general *Douglas* (who had left *England*, a little before, on some pretence or other), the lord *Kilsyth*, captain *Murray* (all his

his *a'ne lads*, as his lordship expressed himself), were to meet him. I objected against *Douglass*, that he was not to be trusted (this was the same man, who afterwards was lieutenant general of king *William's* army in *Ireland*, against king *James*; and whose name will never be forgot in that kingdom, on account of his many ravages and barbarities committed there); but his lordship answered, that he would pawn his life for his honesty; because my lord *Dundee* had assured him, that the lieutenant general had given him his faith and honour, to be with him in five days, if he marched to the hills to declare for king *James*. Whereupon I submitted my scruples to my colonel's judgment; and accordingly we all met together at the tavern.

Dinner was no sooner done, than we heard the news that king *James* was landed in *Ireland*: Then *Douglass*, taking a beer-glass, and looking round him, said, Gentlemen, we have all eat of his bread, and here is his health; which he drank off, on his knees; and all the company did the same: Then, filling another bumper, he drank damnation to all who would draw a sword against him.

I then returned to *Sterling*; and, soon after, the states of *Scotland* met. To this convention my lord *Dundee* went *incognito*; lest the rabble, who had threatened his person, should assault him in the streets. He made a
speech

speech to the house, to the following purpose : " That he came thither as peer of the realm, to serve his majesty ; and that, if the king had no service for him, he hoped, that honourable assembly would protect him, as a peaceable subject, from the rage of his enemies."

Upon receiving an answer from the states, that they could not possibly do it, he slipped out of the house, and privately withdrew from the town ; followed by the twenty four troopers, who had attended him thither : And, as he rode by the castle, seeing the duke of *Gordon*, who commanded it, walking on the walls, he charged his grace, to keep the place for king *James*, till he should hear further from him, who was then going, he said, to appear in the field for his majesty.

His lordship had no sooner left the town, than one major *Bunting* with a party (by order from the convention) followed, with directions to seize him ; whereupon my lord *Dundee*, commanding his attendants to march on gently, stopped to speak with the major ; and, understanding his errand, advised him to return, or he would send him back to his masters in a pair of blankets, as he expressed himself. The major (who perhaps was no enemy to his lordship) returned accordingly ; and my lord arrived at his castle ; where he stayed only that night : For in the morning, taking four thousand pounds with him, he went into the *Higlands*, to Sir *Owen Cameron* ;

meron; where he was soon joined by the laird of *Cappagh*, who, some time before, had been driven out of his estate by order of king *James* (as I have already related), and by many other gentlemen of quality.

Major general *Mc. Coy*, coming to *Edin-burg* at this juncture, was ordered to march the forces, which he brought with him, against my lord *Dundee*. These forces consisted of three or four regiments of foot, and one of horse; besides Sir *Thomas Levingston's* of dragoons. They stopped, in their march, a night or two at *Dundee*. The first night, I got privately into the castle (as it had been agreed between my lord *Kilsyth* and me) and there assured my lady *Dundee*, that the regiment of dragoons, in which I served, should be at her lord's service, whenever he pleased to command; whereof her ladyship gave notice next day to her husband; who sent me a note, by a ragged highlander, which I received as we were on our march, from the town of *Dundee*, towards the *Highlands*. The contents of my lord's note, were, "That he had written to the king, to send him two thousand foot and one thousand horse out of *Ireland*; and that, as soon as those forces were arrived, he would expect me with a regiment of dragoons."

When major general *Mc. Coy* came within sight of my lord *Dundee*, night coming on, obliged him to halt; which gave opportunity to his lordship to retreat in the morn-

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ing; but *Mc. Coy* followed him all day; whereupon, facing about, my lord advanced towards him, which caused the major general to retreat in his turn. Thus we spent about three weeks, sometimes pursuing, and sometimes pursued; our leader, *Mc. Coy*, still writing every post for new supplies; till at last, one regiment of dragoons, and another of foot, came to his assistance, on the 5th day of *June*, 1689. When this reinforcement came, he got intelligence of my lord *Kilsyth's* intention, and mine, of going over with the regiment to my lord *Dundee*.

All people agreed, that lieutenant general *Douglafs*, who had made so many solemn professions of his loyalty to king *James*, and whose health he had drank on his knees, was the very person, who had given his intelligence to *Mc. Coy*; because he alone knew what had passed at the tavern, where we dined; and because, instead of going with *Dundee*, as he had promised him upon his faith and honour, he had rid post for *London*.

From this period, my troubles began; for I was then sent up to *Edinburg*, and there imprisoned in the *Tolbooth*, together with my lord *Kilsyth*, captain *Levingston*, captain *Murray*, and lieutenant *Murray*; each of us in a separate dungeon; with orders that none should be permitted to speak with us, except through the key-hole: And in this miserable condition we lay for two months.

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My lord *Kilsyth*'s friends were under great apprehensions that I would betray his lordship. But my lord did me the justice to assure them, that I would suffer the worst extremity rather than be guilty of so infamous an action ; which, he said, they should find, upon any temptation that might offer. When we had been close confined in our dungeons for two months, we were brought before the council, one by one, to be examined, concerning our knowledge of my lord *Kilsyth*'s intention to carry off the regiment. *Levingston* and the two *Murrays*, having not been privy to that design, were able to discover nothing to his lordship's prejudice ; and were likewise gentlemen of too much honour, to purchase their liberty with a lye : Whereupon they were remanded back to their several dungeons. It was my turn to be next examined ; and I was strongly suspected ; but, notwithstanding my liberty was promised me if I would discover all I knew of the matter, the lord advocate at the same time also urging I must have certainly been privy to it, I positively denied any knowledge of that affair ; adding, that I believed my lord *Kilsyth* had never entertained such a design ; or, if he had, that it was altogether improbable his lordship should impart it to me, a poor stranger born in *Ireland*, and yet keep it a secret from gentlemen of the kingdom, in whom he might much better confide. This I still repeated, and stood to with great firmness, even after I saw the hangman, with the torturing

turing boots, standing at my back : Whereupon I was likewise returned to my dungeon.

The council, although they could force no confession, from me or my companions, that might affect my lord *Kilsyth*, on whose estate their hearts were much set, yet resolved to make a sacrifice of some one among us. But, the other gentlemen being of their own kindred and country, and I a stranger, as well as much hated for prosecuting the *Covenanters* (who, by the change of the times, measures, and opinions, were now grown into high favour with the government, as I have beforementioned), the lot fell on me, and they gave out a report, that I should be hanged within a few days. But a gentleman, then in town, one Mr. *Buchanan*, who held a secret correspondence with my lord *Dundee*, sent his lordship intelligence of this their resolution concerning me.

That lord was then at the castle of *Blair* of *Atboll* ; and, having notice of the danger I was in, wrote a letter to duke *Hamilton*, president of the council, desiring his grace to inform the board, “ That if they hanged “ captain *Creichton*, or (to use his own homely expression) if they touched an hair of “ his tail, he would cut the laird of *Blair*, “ and the laird of *Pollock*, joint by joint, and “ would send their limbs in hampers to the “ council.”

These two gentlemen having been taken prisoners at *St. Johnston*, by my lord *Dundee*, were still kept in confinement. Whereupon

upon the duke, though it was night, called the council, which met immediately, supposing that the business, which pressed so much, might relate to some express from court. But when the clerk read my lord *Dundee's* letter, they appeared in great confusion: Whereupon the duke said, "I fear we dare not touch an hair of *Creichton*;" for ye all know *Dundee* too well, to doubt whether he will be punctual to his word; and the two gentlemen in his hands are too nearly allied to some here, for their lives to be endangered on this occasion. What his grace said was very true; for, if I remember right, the laird of *Blair* had married a daughter of a former duke of *Hamilton*. The issue of the matter was, that, under this perplexity, they all cried out, "Let the fellow live a while longer."

Not long after this, happened the battle of *Gillicranky*, near the castle of the *Blair* of *Atboll*; where the forces under the lord *Dundee*, consisting of no more than seventeen hundred foot (all *Higlanders*, except three hundred sent him from *Ireland*, under the command of colonel *Cannon*, when he expected three thousand, as I have mentioned) and forty-five horse, routed an army of five thousand men, with major general *Mc. Coy* at their head; took fifteen hundred prisoners, and killed a great number, among whom colonel *Balfour* was one. *Mc. Coy* escaped, and fled that night twenty-five miles end-ways, to the castle of *Drummond*.

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But my lord *Dundee* did not live to see himself victorious: For, as he was wheeling about a rock, over the enemy's heads, and making down the bray [g] to attack them, (they making a running fire), he was killed by a random shot, at the beginning of the action: Yet his men discovered not his fall, till they had obtained the victory. The next day, though victorious, they suffered their prisoners to depart, on parole that they would never take up arms against king *James*, colonel *Fergusson* only excepted, on account of his more than ordinary zeal for the new establishment.

King *William*, having heard of this defeat, said, "He knew the lord *Dundee* so well, "that he must have been either killed or mortally wounded; otherwise, before that time, he would have been master of *Edin-burg*."

I now desire leave to return to my own affairs. About four months after my examination, I was advised, in plain words, by the dukes of *Hamilton* and *Queensberry*, who were then going up to *London*, that I should bribe *Melvil*, then secretary of *Scotland*; with whom their graces likewise would use their interest, to get an order from king *William* for my liberty. But I was so far from having money to bribe a courtier of the secretary's rank, that I had hardly enough to support myself. Whereupon my noble friend,

[g] *Bray*, i. e. *deceit*.

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But,

the lord *Kilsyth*, who thought himself indebted to my fidelity for his life and fortune, was so extremely generous, as to make me a present of five hundred pounds, which I immediately sent to *Melvil*; who thereupon, joining his interest with the good offices of the two dukes beforementioned, prevailed with king *William* to send down an order; upon the receipt of which, I was to be set at liberty by the council. But they would not obey it; alledging that the king was misinformed; and, out of the abundance of their zeal, wrote to him, that, if captain *Creighton* should obtain his liberty, he would murder all *Scotland* in one night.

Thus my hope of liberty vanished: For, king *William* soon after going to *Flanders*, and not thinking it prudent to discredit the representation which the council had made of me, as so very dangerous a person, left me in the *Tolbooth*; though the two dukes, out of their great friendship (which I should be most ungrateful ever to forget), had both offered to answer body for body, for my peaceable demeanour. But, notwithstanding all this, king *William*, for the reason before-mentioned, left me prisoner in the *Tolbooth*, as I said; where I continued two years and a half longer, without one penny of money; though not without many friends, whose charity and generosity supported me under this heavy affliction.

My wife and two boys, with as many daughters, were in town, all the time of my confine-

confinement. The boys died young, but the mother and the two girls lived to endure many hardships ; having been twice plundered, by the rabble, of the little substance they had left : However, they and myself were still providentially relieved by some friend or other ; and particularly once, by the lady *Carnwath* (mother of the present earl), who, when we had not one penny left to buy bread, sent us up a sack of meal, and a basket of fowl, sixty miles from *Edinburg*.

My fellow prisoners and I, after the time of our examination by the council, were allowed, for four or five hours every day, to converse with each other, and with our friends : And, when we had been three years in the *Tolbooth*, my companions, being related to the best families in the kingdom, were at last permitted, on bail, to lodge in the city, with a centry at each of their doors. But I was not allowed the same favour, till two months after ; when duke *Hamilton*, still my friend, with much difficulty and strong application to the council, obtained it for me : And, when the order was at last granted, I was at a loss to find such a person for my bail, as the council would approve of ; till the laird of *Pettencrife*, a gentleman whom I had never seen before, sent up his name (without any application from me) to the clerk, and was accordingly accepted.

I had not been two months discharged out of the *Tolbooth*, and removed to a private lodg-
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ing in the town, with a centry upon me, when the government, upon some pretence or other, filled the castle with a great number of persons of quality; among whom were the lords *Kilsyth*, *Hume*, and several others; and the *Talbooth* again, with as many of inferior note, as it could hold.

In a week after I had been permitted to live in the city with my family, I found the centry had orders to keep me close, without allowing me to stir from my lodgings upon any pretence whatsoever: But, when another regiment came to relieve that which was before upon duty, I bribed him who had been my keeper, at his going off, that he should tell the first who came in his place, that his orders were to *walk with me to any part of the town I pleased*. This was accordingly done, and thence forward, I used to take my centry along with me, and visit my old fellow prisoners, the *Gillicrankymen*, and sometimes stay with them all night; at other times, my friends would do the same at my lodgings; among whom the lord *William Douglass* often did me that honour: Nay, sometimes, in company of some gentlemen, I would leave the centry drinking with the *foot-men* in an ale-house, at the back of the town-wall, while we rambled nine or ten miles into the country, to visit some acquaintance or other; still taking care to return before two in the afternoon, which was the hour of parade, to save the centry from danger.

Thus I spent above two months, till the day the government had filled the *Castle* and the *Tolbooth* again, as I have mentioned already. As soon as I was told of my lord *Kilsythe's* imprisonment, I knew the danger I was in, and had just time to run with the centry to a cellar, where I found twelve officers got together for shelter likewise from the storm, a little before me. We stayed there close till night, and then dispatched my centry, with captain *Mair's* footman, to the lady *Lockhart's* (who was married to the captain) four miles out of town, to let her know, that her husband would be at home that night, with twelve other *Cavaliers* (for so in those days we affected to stile ourselves) to avoid being imprisoned in the *Tolbooth*.

When the message was delivered, the lady ordered three or four of her servants, to take up the centry four pair of stairs, and to ply him well with drink. Accordingly they kept him drunk for twelve days and nights together, so that he neither saw me, nor I him, in all that time. Two days after we came to lady *Lockhart's*, I determined, against her and her friend's advice, to return privately to *Edinburg*, to discourse with the laird of *Pettencrife*, my bail: resolving, at all adventures, that so generous a person should not be a sufferer, on my account. I accordingly repaired, in the night, to the same alehouse, at the back of the town-wall, and thence sent the foot-man, who attended me, to bring

the laird thither. He presently came, with two other gentlemen in his company; and, after drinking together for half an hour, he bid me "go whither I pleased, and God's blessing along with me;" whereupon, thrusting me out at the door, in a friendly manner, he added, that he would pay the hundred pounds, he was bound in, to the council next morning; if demanded of him; which they accordingly did, and the money was paid.

I then returned to the company at my lady *Lockhart's*, and thence wrote to the two dukes before-mentioned for their advice, what course to take? Their answer was, "That, in regard to my poor family, I should make my escape to my own country, and there set *potatoes*, till I saw better times." At the end of twelve days, captain *Mair* and his *eleven friends* got over seas to *St. Germain's*; when I likewise took my leave of them and the lady, to make the best of my way for *Ireland*. But I be-thought me of the *poor centry* (to whom the twelve days, we stayed there, seemed no longer than two or three, so well was he played with drink); and, calling for him, asked whether he would chuse to share with me and my fortunes, or go back to the regiment, perhaps to be shot for neglect of his duty? He readily answered, that he would go with me whither ever I went; and, not long after we came into *Ireland*, I had the good luck to get him made a serjeant of

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grenadiers, in the regiment formerly commanded by my lord *Dunbarton*, by a captain, who was then gone thither for recruits ; in which regiment he died a lieutenant some years after.

The lady, at parting, made me a present of a good horse, with ten dollars, to bear my charges on the way ; and moreover hired a tenant's horse to carry the centry to the *borders*. I durst not be seen to pass through *Galloway*, and therefore went by *Carlisle*, to *Whitehaven*. Here I found an acquaintance, who was minister of the town, of the name of *Marr*, a gentleman of great worth and learning. Before the *Revolution*, he had been minister of a parish in *Scotland*, near the *borders* : But, about the time of that event, the rabble, as he told me the story, came to his house, in the night, to rob and murder him ; having treated others of his brethren, the *episcopal clergy*, before, in that inhuman manner. He was a single man, and had but one man servant, whose business was to dress his meat, and make his bed ; and, while the villains were breaking into the house, he had just time to put on his breeches, stockings, and shoes, and no more ; for by that time they were got in ; when he thought it better to leap out at the window, but half cloathed as he was, than to expose his life to the fury of such, whose very mercies might be cruel. Thus he saved his life, and made his escape to the *English* side, with only four dollars in his pocket ;

ket ; leaving his goods, house, and parish, as plunder, to those saints ; who, doubtless, looked on such as he was as no other than an usurper of what, of right, pertained to them ; pursuant to the maxim, *That dominion is founded in grace.*

And here I beg leave to relate the treatment, which another episcopal clergyman received from that tribe, about the same time : His name was *Kirkwood*, whom I likewise knew, before the *Revolution*, minister of a parish in *Galloway*, in *Scotland*, and afterwards rector in the county of *Fermanagh*, in *Ireland*. Among other good qualities, this gentleman was a very facetious person ; and, by his presence of mind, in making use of this talent, he had the good fortune to save both his life and goods from the fury of those godly men, who then thought all things their own. When they broke into the house, he was in bed ; and, sitting up in his shirt, desired leave to speak a few words before he died ; which (I cannot tell how it happened) they granted, and he spoke to this effect ; *That he had always prayed to God, he might die in his bed ; adding, that he had in his house as good ale and brandy, as was in all Scotland ; and therefore hoped the worthy gentlemen would do him the honour to drink with him, before they did any thing rashly.*

This facetious speech, which they little expected from him in the article of so much danger as then threatened him, had the luck
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to divert them from their bloody purpose, and to make them comply with his request : So that, after drinking plentifully, they said he was *an hearty cheel* ; and left him in quiet possession of his house and goods. But he durst not trust his talent to another trial, lest the next company might not be influenced as this first had been ; and therefore, as soon as it was day, made off, with his family and effects, in the best manner he could ; and rested not until he was safe in *Ireland*.

I could not forbear relating these stories, from the gentlemen's own mouths, as I might do others of the same kind, upon my own knowledge ; although they are contradictory to what the preachers of the new established kirk have so confidently given out. They would fain have the world believe, that they shewed great indulgence to the episcopal clergy, at the revolution, and for several years after. But they must grant me and others leave not to believe them : Nor ought they to be angry, if I give the reader a further idea of them, and of the spirit that reigned in the synods, conventions, or general assemblies of their kirk.

During my confinement in the *Tolbooth*, a general assembly was called ; to which my lord *Lothian*, as I was informed afterwards, was sent commissioner from king *William*. His lordship's instructions were, to signify to them the king's desire, that as many of the episcopal clergy, as would take the oath of allegiance to him, might keep possession

session of their several parishes. To this the members answered in a disdainful manner, *What ! shall we suffer any scabbed sheep among us ? Na, na, nat ane ;* and thereupon sent two of their brethren to king *William*, who was then in *Flanders*, to move him for more favours to the kirk, and power further to oppress the episcopal clergy. But that prince told them, in plain terms, that he had been imposed upon, in granting to the kirk the favours she had already got ; and withall commanded them, to let the general assembly know, that it was his will and pleasure, that they should live peaceably with those who were willing to live so with them ; otherwise he would make them know, that he was their master.

With this unwelcome answer from king *William*, the two spiritual envoys returned to those who sent them ; and, at the same time or soon after, the prince dispatched an order to the commissioner to dissolve the assembly, if he found them persisting in their severity towards the episcopal clergy.

As soon as the legates delivered the message, all in the assembly began to speak out with the greatest boldness imaginable ; saying, “ That the king durst not have sent them “ such an answer, if he had not an army “ at his back.” Whereupon the commissioner dissolved the synod ; and, in the king’s name, commanded all the members to depart to their several homes.

But,

But, instead of obeying that order, they all went in a body, with that poor weak creature, the lord *Crawford*, at their head, to the *Market-Cross*; and there published a protestation, declaring, that the king had no authority in church affairs, nor any right to dissolve their general assembly.

I relate this story, as it was told me, not only to give the reader an idea of the spirit, that reigned in that kirk established now in *Scotland*, as I have said, but likewise to do justice to the memory of king *William* (which may be the more acceptable, as coming from one, who was in a contrary interest). And, indeed, I have so good an opinion of that prince, as to believe he would have acted much better than he did, with regard to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution in *Scotland*, if he had been permitted to govern by his own opinions.

But now to come to the conclusion of my story. The [b] *Hollantide* after I arrived in *Ireland*, my wife and two daughters followed me; and we settled in the county of *Tyrone*, with my father (who died two years afterwards), on a small freehold; where I have made an hard shift to maintain them, with industry and even manual labour, for about twelve years, till my wife died, and my daughters were married, which happened not very long after I became a widower.

[b] The Feast of All Saints.

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I am at present in the eighty third year of my age, still hated by those people, who affirm the old *Covenanters* to have been unjustly dealt with; and therefore believe a great number of improbable stories concerning me; as that I was a common murderer of them and their preachers, with many other false and improbable stories. But the reader, I hope, from whom I have not concealed any one transaction or adventure that happened to me among those rebellious people, or misrepresented the least circumstance as far as my memory could serve me, will judge whether, he hath reason to believe me to have been such a person as they represented me; and to hate me, as they do, upon that account. And my comfort is, that I can appeal from their unjust tribunal, to the mercy of God; before whom, by the course of nature, I must soon appear; who knows the integrity of my heart, and that my actions (condemned by them) were, as far as my understanding could direct me, meant for the good of the church, and the service of my king and country.

And, although such people hate me because they give credit to the false reports raised concerning me; another comfort left me in my old age is, that I have constantly preserved (and still do so) the love and esteem of all honest and good men, to whom I have had the happiness at any time to be known.

JOHN CREICHTON.
HINTS

H I N T S

T O W A R D S

A N E S S A Y

O N

C O N V E R S A T I O N .

I HAVE observed few obvious subjects to have been so seldom, or at least so slightly, handled as this; and indeed I know few so difficult to be treated as it ought, nor yet upon which there seemeth so much to be said.

Most things, pursued by men for the happiness of publick or private life, our wit or folly have so refined, that they seldom subsist but in idea; a true friend, a good marriage, a perfect form of government, with some others, require so many ingredients so good in their several kinds, and so much niceness in mixing them, that for some thousands of years men have despaired of reducing their schemes to perfection: But, in Conversation, it is or might be otherwise; for here we are only to avoid a multitude of errors, which, although a matter of some difficulty, may be in every man's power, for want of which it remaineth as meer an idea as the other. Therefore it seemeth to me, that the truest way

252 HINTS TOWARDS AN ESSAY

way to understand Conversation is, to know the faults and errors to which it is subject, and from thence every man to form maxims to himself whereby it may be regulated; because it requireth few talents to which most men are not born, or at least may not acquire without any great genius or study. For nature hath left every man a capacity of being agreeable, though not of shining, in company; and there are an hundred men sufficiently qualified for both, who, by a very few faults, that they might correct in half an hour, are not so much as tolerable.

I was prompted to write my thoughts upon this subject by meer indignation, to reflect that so useful and innocent a pleasure, so fitted for every period and condition of life, and so much in all men's power, should be so much neglected and abused.

And in this discourse it will be necessary to note those errors that are obvious, as well as others which are seldom observed; since there are few so obvious or acknowledged, into which most men, some time or other, are not apt to run.

For instance: Nothing is more generally exploded than the folly of talking too much; yet I rarely remember to have seen five people together, where some one among them hath not been predominant in that kind, to the great constraint and disgust of all the rest. But, among such as deal in multitudes of words, none are comparable to the sober deliberate talker, who proceedeth with much
thought

thought and caution, maketh his preface, brancheth out into several digressions, findeth a hint that putteth him in mind of another story, which he promiseth to tell you when this is done; cometh back regularly to his subject, cannot readily call to mind some person's name, holdeth his head, complaineth of his memory; the whole company all this while in suspense; at length says, It is no matter, and so goes on. And, to crown the business, it perhaps proveth at last a story the company hath heard fifty times before; or, at best, some insipid adventure of the relater.

Another general fault in conversation is, that of those who affect to talk of themselves: Some, without any ceremony, will run over the history of their lives; will relate the annals of their diseases, with the several symptoms and circumstances of them; will enumerate the hardships and injustice they have suffered in court, in parliament, in love, or in law. Others are more dexterous, and with great art will lie on the watch to hook in their own praise: They will call a witness to remember, they always foretold what would happen in such a case, but none would believe them; they advised such a man from the beginning, and told him the consequences, just as they happened; but he would have his own way. Others make a vanity of telling their faults; they are the strangest men in the world; they cannot dissemble; they own it is a folly; they have lost abundance of advantages by it; but, if you would give them the

VOL. XIII.  world,

254 HINTS TOWARDS AN ESSAY

world, they cannot help it; there is something in their nature that abhors insincerity and constraint; with many other unsufferable to-picks of the same altitude.

Of such mighty importance every man is to himself, and ready to think he is so to others; without once making this easy and obvious reflexion, that his affairs can have no more weight with other men, than their's have with him; and how little that is, he is sensible enough.

Where company hath met, I often have observed two persons discover, by some accident, that they were bred together at the same school or university; after which the rest are condemned to silence, and to listen while these two are refreshing each other's memory with the arch tricks and passages of themselves and their comrades.

I know a great officer of the army, who will sit for some time with a supercilious and impatient silence, full of anger and contempt for those who are talking, at length of a sudden demand audience, decide the matter in a short dogmatical way; then withdraw within himself again, and vouchsafe to talk no more, until his spirits circulate again to the same point.

There are some faults in conversation, which none are so subject to as the men of wit, nor ever so much as when they are with each other. If they have opened their mouths without endeavouring to say a witty thing, they think it is so many words lost; It is a
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ON CONVERSATION. 255

torment to the hearers; as much as to themselves, to see them upon the rack for invention, and in perpetual constraint, with so little success. They must do something extraordinary, in order to acquit themselves, and answer their character, else the standers-by may be disappointed and be apt to think them only like the rest of mortals. I have known two men of wit industriously brought together, in order to entertain the company, where they have made a very ridiculous figure, and provided all the mirth at their own expence.

I know a man of wit, who is never easy but where he can be allowed to dictate and preside; he neither expecteth to be informed or entertained, but to display his own talents. His business is to be good company, and not good conversation; and, therefore, he chuseth to frequent those who are content to listen, and profess themselves his admirers. And, indeed, the worst conversation I ever remember to have heard in my life, was that at *Will's* coffee-house, where the wits (as they were called) used formerly to assemble; that is to say, five or six men, who had writ plays, or at least prologues, or had share in a miscellany, came thither, and entertained one another with their trifling composures, in so important an air, as if they had been the noblest efforts of human nature, or that the fate of kingdoms depended on them; and they were usually attended with an humble audience of young students from the inns of courts,

256 HINTS TOWARDS AN ESSAY

or the universities, who, at due distance, listened to these oracles, and returned home with great contempt for their law and philosophy; their heads filled with trash, under the name of politeness, criticism and belles lettres.

By these means the poets, for many years past, were all over-run with pedantry. For, as I take it, the word is not properly used; because pedantry is the too frequent or unseasonable obtruding our own knowledge in common discourse, and placing too great a value upon it; by which definition, men of the court or the army may be as guilty of pedantry as a philosopher or a divine; and it is the same vice in women, when they are over-copious upon the subject of their petticoats, or their fans, or their china. For which reason, although it be a piece of prudence, as well as good manners, to put men upon talking on subjects they are best versed in, yet that is a liberty a wise man could hardly take; because, beside the imputation of pedantry, it is what he would never improve by.

This great town is usually provided with some player, mimick or buffoon, who hath a general reception at the good tables; familiar and domestick with persons of the first quality, and usually sent for at every meeting to divert the company; against which I have no objection. You go there as to a farce or a puppet show; your business is only to laugh in season, either out of inclination or civility,
while

ON CONVERSATION. 257

while this merry companion is acting his part. It is a business he hath undertaken, and we are to suppose he is paid for his day's work. I only quarrel, when, in select and private meetings, where men of wit and learning are invited to pass an evening, this jester should be admitted to run over his circle of tricks, and make the whole company unfit for any other conversation, besides the indignity of confounding mens' talents at so shameful a rate.

Raillery is the finest part of conversation; but, as it is our usual custom to counterfeit and adulterate whatever is too dear for us, so we have done with this, and turned it all into what is generally called repartee, or being smart; just as when an expensive fashion cometh up, those who are not able to reach it content themselves with some paltry imitation. It now passeth for raillery to run a man down in discourse, to put him out of countenance, and make him ridiculous, sometimes to expose the defects of his person or understanding; on all which occasions he is obliged not to be angry, to avoid the imputation of not being able to take a jest. It is admirable to observe one who is dextrous at this art, singling out a weak adversary, getting the laugh on his side, and then carrying all before him. The *French*, from whom we borrow the word, have a quite different idea of the thing, and so had we in the politer age of our fathers. Raillery was to say something that at first appeared a reproach or reflection, but by some turn of wit, unexpected

258 HINTS TOWARDS AN ESSAY

and surprizing, ended always in a compliment, and to the advantage of the person it was addressed to. And surely one of the best rules in conversation is, never to say a thing which any of the company can reasonably wish we had rather left unsaid; nor can there any thing be well more contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unsatisfied with each other or themselves.

There are two faults in conversation, which appear very different, yet arise from the same root, and are equally blameable; I mean, an impatience to interrupt others, and the uneasiness of being interrupted ourselves. The two chief ends of conversation are to entertain and improve those we are among, or to receive those benefits ourselves; which whoever will consider, cannot easily run into either of those two errors; because when any man speaketh in company, it is to be supposed he doth it for his hearer's sake, and not his own; so that common discretion will teach us not to force their attention, if they are not willing to lend it; nor, on the other side, to interrupt him who is in possession, because that is in the grossest manner to give the preference to our own good sense.

There are some people, whose good manners will not suffer them to interrupt you; but, what is almost as bad, will discover abundance of impatience, and lye upon the watch until you have done, because they have started something in their own thoughts which they long to be delivered of. Mean time, they
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are so far from regarding what passes, that their imaginations are wholly turned upon what they have in reserve, for fear it should slip out of their memory; and thus they confine their invention, which might otherwise range over a hundred things full as good, and that might be much more naturally introduced.

There is a sort of rude familiarity, which some people, by practising among their intimates, have introduced into their general conversation, and would have it pass for innocent freedom or humour, which is a dangerous experiment in our northern climate, where all the little decorum and politeness we have are purely forced by art, and are so ready to lapse into barbarity. This, among the *Romans*, was the raillery of slaves, of which we have many instances in *Plautus*. It seemeth to have been introduced among us by *Cromwell*, who, by preferring the scum of the people, made it a court-entertainment, of which I have heard many particulars; and, considering all things were turned upside down, it was reasonable and judicious: Although it was a piece of policy found out to ridicule a point of honour in the other extreme, when the smallest word misplaced among gentlemen ended in a duel.

There are some men excellent at telling a story, and provided with a plentiful stock of them, which they can draw out upon occasion in all companies; and, considering how low conversation runs now among us, it is not altogether a contemptible talent; however, it

260 HINTS TOWARDS AN ESSAY

is subject to two unavoidable defects; frequent repetition, and being soon exhausted; so that whoever valueth this gift in himself, hath need of a good memory, and ought frequently to shift his company, that he may not discover the weakness of his fund; for those who are thus endowed, have seldom any other revenue, but live upon the main stock.

Great speakers in publick are seldom agreeable in private conversation, whether their faculty be natural, or acquired by practice and often venturing. Natural elocution, although it may seem a paradox, usually springeth from a barrenness of invention and of words, by which men who have only one stock of notions upon every subject, and one set of phrases to express them in, swim upon the superficies, and offer themselves on every occasion; therefore, men of much learning, and who know the compass of a language, are generally the worst talkers on a sudden, until much practice hath inured and emboldened them, because they are confounded with plenty of matter, variety of notions, and of words, which they cannot readily chuse, but are perplexed and entangled by too great a choice; which is no disadvantage in private conversation; where, on the other side, the talent of haranguing is of all others most insupportable.

Nothing hath spoiled men more for conversation, than the character of being wits; to support which, they never fail of encouraging

ing a number of followers and admirers, who list themselves in their service, wherein they find their accounts on both sides, by pleasing their mutual vanity. This hath given the former such an air of superiority, and made the latter so pragmatistical, that neither of them are well to be endured. I say nothing here of the itch of dispute and contradiction, telling of lies, or of those who are troubled with the disease called the wandering of the thoughts, that they are never present in mind at what passeth in discourse; for whoever labours under any of these possessions, is as unfit for conversation as a mad-man in Bedlam.

I think I have gone over most of the errors in conversation that have fallen under my notice or memory, except some that are merely personal, and others too gross to need exploding; such as lewd or prophane talk; but I pretend only to treat the errors of conversation in general, and not the several subjects of discourse, which would be infinite. Thus we see how human nature is most debased, by the abuse of that faculty, which is held the great distinction between men and brutes; and how little advantage we make of that which might be the greatest, the most lasting, and the most innocent, as well as useful pleasure of life: In default of which, we are forced to take up with those poor amusements of dress and visiting, or the more pernicious ones of play, drink, and vicious amours, whereby the nobility and gentry of both sexes are entirely corrupted both in body

262 HINTS TOWARDS AN ESSAY

and mind, and have lost all notions of love, honour, friendship, generosity; which, under the name of fopperies, have been for some time laughed out of doors.

This degeneracy of conversation, with the pernicious consequences thereof upon our humours and dispositions, hath been owing, among other causes, to the custom arisen, for some time past, of excluding women from any share in our society, further than in parties at play or dancing, or in the pursuit of an amour. I take the highest period of politeness in *England* (and it is of the same date in *France*) to have been the peaceable part of king *Charles* the First's reign; and from what we read of those times, as well as from the accounts I have formerly met with from some who lived in that court, the methods then used for raising and cultivating conversation were altogether different from ours: several ladies, whom we find celebrated by the poets of that age, had assemblies at their houses, where persons of the best understanding, and of both sexes, met to pass the evenings in discoursing upon whatever agreeable subjects were occasionally started; and although we are apt to ridicule the sublime platonick notions they had, or personated in love and friendship, I conceive their refinements were grounded upon reason, and that a little grain of romance is no ill ingredient to preserve and exalt the dignity of human nature, without which it is apt to degenerate into every thing that is sordid, vicious and low. If there were no
other

other use in the conversation of ladies, it is sufficient that it would lay a restraint upon those odious topicks of immodesty and indecencies, into which the rudeness of our northern genius is so apt to fall. And, therefore, it is observable in those sprightly gentlemen about the town, who are so very dextrous at entertaining a vizard mask in the park or the playhouse, that, in the company of ladies of virtue and honour, they are silent and disconcerted, and out of their element.

There are some people who think they sufficiently acquit themselves and entertain their company with the relating of facts of no consequence, nor at all out of the road of such common incidents as happen every day; and this I have observed more frequently among the *Scots* than any other nation, who are very careful not to omit the minutest circumstances of time or place; which kind of discourse, if it were not a little relieved by the uncouth terms and phrases, as well as accent and gesture, peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable. It is not a fault in company to talk much; but to continue it long is certainly one; for, if the majority of those who are got together be naturally silent or cautious, the conversation will flag, unless it be often renewed by one among them, who can start new subjects, provided he doth not dwell upon them, but leaveth room for answers and replies.

A SHORT
C H A R A C T E R

Of His Excellency

THOMAS Earl of WHARTON,
Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND.

With an Account of some smaller Facts,
during his Government, which will not
be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

London, Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of *Ireland* being govern-
ed by deputation from hence, its annals,
since the *English* establishment, are usually
digested under the heads of the several go-
vernors: But the affairs and events of that
island, for some years past, have been either
so insignificant, or so annexed to those of
England, that they have not furnished mat-
ter of any great importance to history. The
share of honour, which gentlemen from thence
have had by their conduct and employments
in the army, turneth all to the article of this
kingdom; the rest, which relateth to politics,
or the art of government, is inconsiderable
to the last degree; however it may be repre-
sented

A SHORT CHARACTER, *etc.* 265

sented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of *England*.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story are those in which a man would least chuse to live; such as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one; and lastly, the arbitrary, unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, *Ireland* hath no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which, at present, are but imperfect transcripts of ours: But the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that by which the people of *Ireland* have, for some time, been distinguished from all her [i] majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height under his excellency *Thomas* earl of *Wharton*, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, although, I hope, it will be incredible to the next: And, because this account may be judged rather an history of his excellency than of his government, I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is

[i] Queen Anne.

266 A SHORT CHARACTER OF

to applause, and how insensible of reproach; Which is not a humour put on to serve a turn or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence or any grandeur of mind, but the meer unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of sinning; and therefore a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine (for I have the honour of his visits), and when these papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, that he is damnably mauled; and then, with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather, or time of the day: So that I enter on the work with more chearfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security to which his excellency hath arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance by first giving a character of his excellency, and then

THO. EARL OF WHARTON. 267

then relating some facts during his government, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well that mens characters are best known from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in *Ireland*, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time or the scene hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, by the force of a wonderful constitution, hath passed some years, his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether he walketh, or whistleth, or sweareth, or talketh bawdy, or calleth names, he acquitteth himself in each beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace, and in the same stile, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom; and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expecteth. He seemeth to be but an ill dissembler and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he most practiseth, and most valueth himself upon. The ends he hath gained by lying appear to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them; his lies being sometimes detected in an hour,
often

often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He sweareth solemnly he loveth, and will serve you; and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him you are a dog and a rascal. He goeth constantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; but he chuseth at present to whore with a papist. In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understanding, for which he hath but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths: And this he applieth indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings and a privy counsellor; by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused; and either way he gaineth his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, because you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or send for you as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendship on your shoulders, and with the greatest ease and familiarity tell you that the faction are driving at something in the house; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, although he knoweth, at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentioneth: And, however absurd,

furd, ridiculous and groſs this may appear, he hath often found it ſucceſſful, ſome men having ſuch an aukward baſhfulneſs, they know not how to reſuſe on a ſudden, and every man having ſomething to hope or fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with perſons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath ſunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom [k], and hath raiſed it by going far in the ruin of another [l]. With a good natural underſtanding, a great fluency in ſpeaking, and no ill taſte of wit, he is generally the worſt companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, ſo that bawdy, prophaneneſs, and buſineſs fill up his whole converſation. To gratify himſelf in the two firſt, he maketh uſe of ſuitable favourites, whoſe talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdneſs that paſſeth in town. As for buſineſs, he is ſaid to be very dextrous at that part of it which turneth upon intrigue, and he ſeemeth to have transferred thoſe talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For as ſome vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of conſequence, will chuſe to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; ſo his excellency, either to keep him-

[k] England.

[l] Ireland.

270 A SHORT CHARACTER OF

self in practice or advance the fame of his politicks, affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the most common affairs; those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of course whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a stoic, and thinks them well recompenced by a return of children to support his family without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: These are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes altogether: Since he went into *Ireland*, he seemeth most disposed to the second, and hath met with great success, having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character; I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of *Ireland*, which

which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me just as he recollected them; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom, now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Esq. chirurgion-general of *Ireland*, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country-house, half a mile from *Dublin*, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke*, then lord lieutenant, and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treasurer here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord treasurer struck off some part of the rent: He had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government,

vernment, and pay a certain rent; the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in *Ireland*, was told of this lease, and, by his absolute authority, commanded Mr. *Proby* to surrender up the land: Which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment; at the same time he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he doth it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord lieutenant, there came over, to make his court, one Dr. *Lloyd*, fellow of *Trinity-college, Dublin*, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by *Tom Broderick*, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that, being provided of a proper chaplain already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: The doctor attended his excellency to *Ireland*, and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour; and walking one day with

with his mistress after my lord and lady in the Castle-garden, my lady said to his excellency, "What do you think? We are "going to lose poor *Foydy*," a name of fondness they usually gave her. "How do you "mean?" said my lord. "Why the doctor behind us is resolved to take her from "us." "Is he, by G—?" "Why then " (G—d d—mn me) he shall have the first "bishoprick that falls [*m*]."

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his excellency for *England*; and, soon after the bishoprick of *Cork* falling void, to shew he meant fair, he married his damsel publickly here in *London*, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishoprick; but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the archbishops here, especially his grace of *York*, interposed with the queen, to hinder so great a scandal to the church, and *Dr. Brown*, provost of *Dublin* college, being then in town, her majesty was pleased to nominate him; so that *Dr. Lloyd* was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other por-

[*m*] It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his W——— a B———p.

274 A SHORT CHARACTER OF

tion, than a couple of olive branches for his table, though she herself hardly knoweth by what hand they were planted.

The queen reserveth all the great employments of *Ireland* to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of *Dublin* college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr. *Brown*; Dr. *Benjamin Pratt*, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the house of commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic chaplain to the duke of *Ormond*, was at that time here, in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in *Ireland*, and lived here in a very decent figure: He is a person of wit and learning, hath travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: But he had the original sin of being a reputed tory, and a dependent on the duke of *Ormond*; however, he had many friends among the bishops and other nobility to recommend him to the queen; at the same time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. *Hall*, who had much the advantage of *Pratt* in point of seniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense: He had been recommended from *Ireland* by several persons; and his excellency, who had
never

never before seen nor thought on him, after having tried to injure the college by recommending persons from this side, at last set up *Hall*, with all imaginable zeal, against *Pratt*. I tell this story the more fully, because it is affirmed, by his excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court skill, than at this time, to stop *Dr. Pratt's* promotion, not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to *Ireland* with some little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially that of his chaplain *Dr. Lloyd*. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency so at his levees, who sometimes could not conceal his surprize, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other; these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths that he would never oppose him more, his excellency went immediately to the bishop of *Ely*, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that *Dr. Pratt* should be provost, which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message; though at the same time he did
the

276 A SHORT CHARACTER OF

the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his excellency owned he did not oppose him *directly*, but confessed he did it *collaterally*. The doctor, a little warmed, said, "No, my lord, you mean *directly* you "did not, but *indirectly* you did." The conclusion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and, as a further mortification, just upon the day of his excellency's departure for *Ireland*.

But here I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his excellency's merits as soon as possible. I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from *Dublin*, without either correcting the style, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person, who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

THE earl of *Rochfort's* regiment of dragoons was embarked for his majesty's service abroad, on the 27th of *August*, 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their *room*; as the horses
of

of lieutenant-general *Harvey's* regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised and still commanded by the duke of *Ormond*; on which occasion, the duke had her majesty's orders only for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment as other regiments. But that which was to supply the earl of *Rochfort's* had not a commission granted till the 29th of *April*, 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of *August* to that time (being above 5,700 *l.*) was taken, under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses. As for the last use, those are always produced out of the funds for providing cloathing, and the duke of *Ormond* did so: As for horses wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way; the keeping the horses did not amount to 700 *l.* by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament: So there was at least 5,000 *l.* charged to the nation, more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs. *Lloyd*, at first coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of selling it for about 200 *l.* but at last was told she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other servants, would deserve a consideration for their attendance; accordingly his
R
excellency

excellency had it brought to him every night; and, to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play; so that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1,000*l.* of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the rest made a perquisite to his excellency. For, Mrs. *Lloyd* having an husband and a bishoprick promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met lieutenant-general *Langston* in the *Court of Requests*, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine; he tells me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I must desire you will take the first opportunity to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general answered, "He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell." With this the gentleman was mightily well satisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which, his excellency said immediately, "I was forced to speak for him, as a great many of his friends have votes at elections; but, d—n him, he is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one *M——y* to the duke of *Ormond*, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promised. So *M——y* withdrew. As soon as he was gone,

THO. EARL OF WHARTON. 279

gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke, "That fellow is the greatest rogue
" in *Christendom*."

Colonel *Coward* having received pay, for some time, in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to *Cadix* under the duke of *Ormond*, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applied to his excellency, who represented him in such a light, that he got above 900*l.* as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10*s.* per day; but he, reckoning this as much too little for his wants as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the queen for a further addition of 10*s.* a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be still farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of *Chapel-izod* gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As for the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building of it; till, upon enquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out so well, that there was a necessity of destroying sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his ex-

cellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom: Upon this occasion, many projects were proposed, all which at last gave way to the proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good; which was, that forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and amunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose: This was accordingly put into the heads of a bill; and then this worthy patriot, with his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving of money for any other use, as every body thought by the words he spoke, though afterwards he shewed them that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptance of words; for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of, to have it pass; though the money was applied in it to the building one arsenal only, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arsenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any further charge

charge to the public; and appointed his second secretary, Mr. *Denton*, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: Then, thinking this was too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds eight shillings a week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a week: And these were, for the greater part, persons who had no knowledge of such business, and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it hath since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them, insomuch, that the work they have overseen, which with their salary hath cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate. And this is all a certainty, because all that hath been done, was only removing earth, which hath been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip Savage, Esq; as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue for sealing writs in the queen's business, and shewed them for it some precedents; but they, not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr. *South*, one of the

282 A SHORT CHARACTER OF

commissioners, then in *London*, to enquire the practice there. He sent them word, upon enquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like cases ; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it must lie at their door, for he never offered to stop the business ; yet his excellency knew so well how to chuse an attorney and solicitor-general, that, when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being about two hundred pounds *per annum* ; but never found any fault in the commissioners, who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain *Robert Fitzgerald*, father to the present earl of *Kildare*, had a grant, from king *Charles* the second, of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of captain *Charles Brabazon*, now earl of *Meath*, and *George Fitzgerald*, elder brother to the present earl of *Kildare* ; which the said *Robert Fitzgerald* enjoyed with a salary of three hundred pounds *per annum* ; and, after his death, his son *George* enjoyed it, till my lord *Galway* did by threats, compel him to surrender the said patent for a pension of two hundred pounds *per annum*, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the present earl of *Kildare*, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender of said patent, which
should

THO. EARL OF WHARTON. 283

should have come to him, the earl of *Meath* being still living : Therefore, in order to right himself, did petition her majesty, which petition, as usual, was referred to the earl of *Wharton*, then lord lieutenant, who, being at that time in *London*, referred it, according to the common method on such occasions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant-general *Ingoldsbj*, the then lords justices of this kingdom ; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to enquire whether the earl of *Kildare* had any legal title to the said patent, which he, in a full report, said he had : And they referred it to the deputy vice-treasurer to enquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was useful or necessary for her majesty's service. He gave in his report, and said, he thought it both useful and necessary ; and, with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons : first, that the muster-master general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above 200,000*l. per annum*, so, having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown : And, secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary : But colonel *P——r*, the muster-master general, being then in *London*, and having given my lord lieutenant one thou-
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sand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him; so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, in consideration thereof, that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and, to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices report, as ever she had done against the torries; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he comptrolled it himself; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: Although since, it hath been plainly made appear, that, for want of some controul on that office, her majesty hath been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk, and that during the time of his excellency's government, of which there hath been but a small part refunded; and the rest hath not been enquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear, that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and, of course, all pretensions to preferment in the

the army, took this opportunity: a captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him: and, accordingly, for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment, who, at the same time, applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majesty's service in *Spain*, and absent by her majesty's licence: his excellency, hearing that, said they might give him a company in *Spain*, for he would dispose of this here; and so, notwithstanding all the commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a disputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was surrendered. Talking one morning as he was dressing (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in the council about the affairs of *Trim*, he said, the lord chief justice *Dalbin* had laid down as law a thing, for which a man ought to have his gown stripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expression again: Yet, some days after, sent Dr. *Lloyd* to assure his lordship he said no such thing. Some time after, while he was in *England*, he used his efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: and when he came once again,

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286 A SHORT CHARACTER OF

he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly to lord chief justice *Dalbin*, that perhaps some officious persons might spread stories that he had endeavoured to do some of them a prejudice in *England*, which he assured them he never had; but on the contrary would always, without distinction, shew his regard, according to merit; which the lord chief justice *Dalbin* was pleased to approve of, by saying, that was very honourable, that was very gracious; although he knew the contrary himself.

In *England*, he bid Mr. *Deering* assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themselves; and with which Mr. *Deering* was much pleased, wrote over to his friends accordingly; and, as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, "*D—u me, how easily he is bit!*" When the Duke of *Ormond* was in the government, he gave to Mr. *Anderson Saunders* the government of *Wicklow* castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about 12 *l. per annum*, which Mr. *Saunders* gave to the free-school of the town; but his excellency, not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremony, or reason given, superseded him, by giving commission for it to *J—*, the horse-courser, who lieth under several odious and scandalous reflexions, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining. Some time after

after his excellency's landing the second time, he sent for Mr. *Saunders*, among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr. *Saunders* would not take amiss his giving that place to *J——s*, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him; which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge usually give away things, without enquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr. *Saunders* answered him, "He was very glad to find what was done was not out of any particular displeasure to him; because Mr. *Whitshed* had said at *Wicklow*, by way of apology for what his excellency had done, that it was occasioned by Mr. *Saunders* having it; and, seeing his excellency had no ill intention against him, was glad he could tell his excellency it was not legally given away, for he had a custodium for the land out of the court of exchequer; so his excellency's commission could do him no prejudice."

Lieutenant general *Ecblin* had pay on his establishment as brigadier, until the middle of *October*, 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and lieutenant general *Gorge* was put in his room. Some time after, major general *Rook*, considering the reason why *Ecblin* was removed, concluded, that *Gorge* could not come on until some time in *February* after, because his regiment was also out of the kingdom until that time; and therefore, he being the eldest general officer

officer that had no pay as such, was entitled to the brigadier's pay, from the time *Echlin* was removed until *Gorge* was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His excellency, upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to *Gorge*, he should have it, so bid him go see; which he did, and found it was: then his excellency told him he would refer his case to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour; and, upon that ground, he would find a way to do him right; yet, when the general officers sat, he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against *Rook*.

When the prosecution against the dissenting ministers in *Drogheda* was depending, one *Stevens*, a lawyer in this town of *Dublin*, sent his excellency, then in *London*, a petition, in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others who lay under any such prosecution; and in about a fortnight's time, his excellency sent over a letter, to the then lords justices, to give the attorney and solicitor generals orders, to enter a *Noli prosequi* to all such suits; which was done accordingly, although he never so much as enquired into the merits of the cause, or referred the petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be never so light. He said, he had her majesty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any, That

THOMAS, EARL OF WHARTON. 229

That his excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance: there were 850 *l.* ordered by her majesty to buy new liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, &c. but, with great industry, he got them made cheaper by 200 *l.* which he saved out of that sum; and it is reported, that his steward got a handsome consideration beside from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty, which service pleased his excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of.

The lord lieutenant hath no power to remove or put in a solicitor general without the queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission; yet, because Sir *Richard Lewinge* disobliged him, by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. *Forster* [a], although he had no queen's letter for so doing, only a letter from Mr. secretary *Boyle*, that her majesty designed to remove him.

The privy-council in *Ireland* have a great share of the administration, all things being carried by the consent of the majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his ex-

[a] Afterwards Recorder of the city of *Dublin*, and Lord chief justice of the common pleas.

cellency disliked so great a share of power in any but himself : and, when matters were debated in council otherwise than he approved, he would stop them, and say, "*Come, my Lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes ;*" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency presented his worthy divine to one of the bishops, with the following recommendation : "*My lord, M—— is a very honest fellow, and hath no fault but that he is a little too immoral.*" He made this man chaplain to his regiment, although he had been so infamous, that a bishop in *England* refused to admit him to a living he had been presented to, until the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the earl of *Inchiquin* to be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified, when he found lieutenant general *Ingoldsfy* appointed, without any regard to his recommendation ; particularly, because the usual salary of a lord justice, in the lord lieutenant's absence, is 100*l.* per month, and he had bargained with the earl for 40*l.*

I will send you, in a packet or two, some particulars of his excellency's usage of the
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THOMAS, EARL OF WHARTON. 291

convocation, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. *Coningsby*, an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magistrate in *Trim*, his barbarous injustice to dean *Jephson* and *Will Crow*; his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of; the common custom of playing on *Sunday* in my lady's closet; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyship and Mrs. *Lloyd* and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at *Clontarf*, where they used to go in a hackney coach; and his excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge-tavern whenever he was invited; with some other passages which, I hope, you will put into some method, and correct the style, and publish as speedily as you can.

Note, Mr. *Savage*, besides the persecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament in a case where his excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, until they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency. *The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I shall publish them in a second part.*

END of VOL. XIII.

